J. N. BANERJEA VOLUME

THE ALUMNI ASSOCIATION
Department of Ancient Indian History & Culture
University of Calcutta

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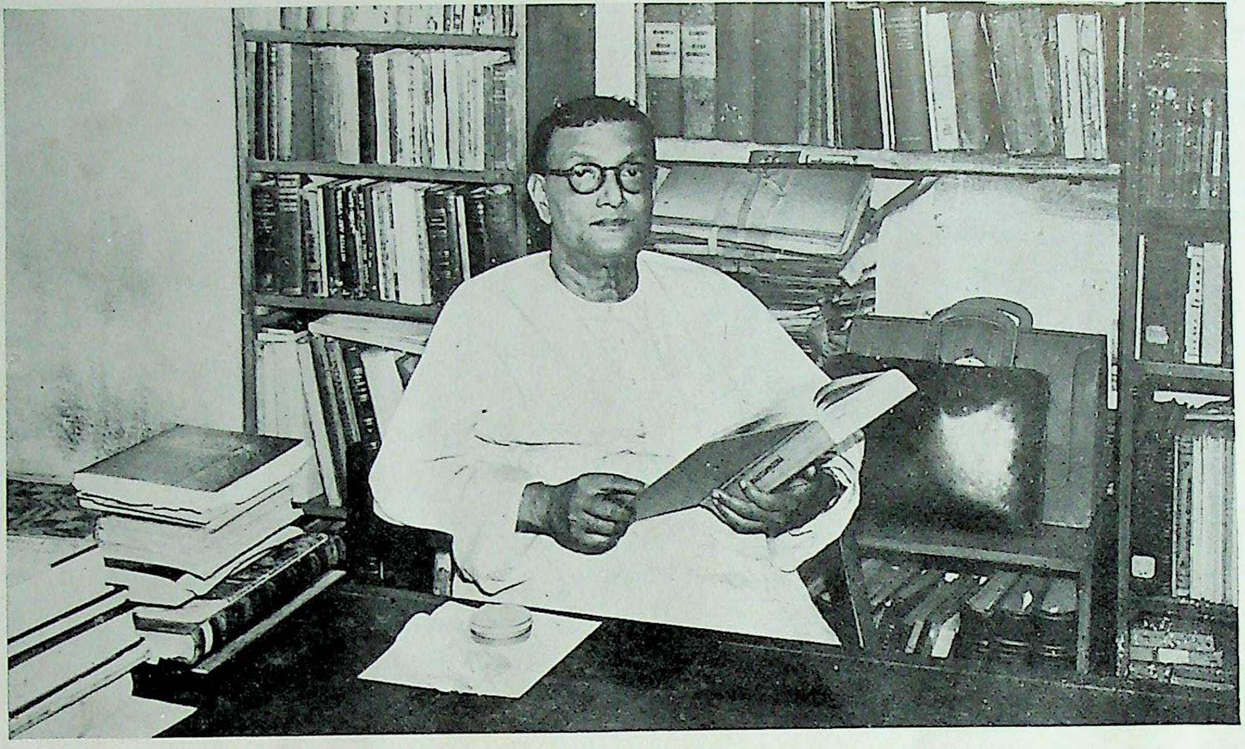

Dr. J. N. BANERJEA, M.A.Ph.D., F.A.S.,
Carmichael Professor of Ancient Indian History & Culture (1952-'59)

J. N. BANERJEA VOLUME

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A collection of articles by his friends and pupils presented on his retirement
from Carmichael Professorship of Ancient Indian History and Culture
University of Calcutta

"*Avidyayā Mṛtyuṁ Tirttvā*
Vidyayāhamṛtam Aśnute"
—*Īśa Upanishad*

THE ALUMNI ASSOCIATION
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Department of Ancient Indian History and Culture
University of Calcutta

Published, March 1960

Text printed by:
Inland Printing Works
60/3 Dharamtolla Street, Calcutta-13

954.01
P J

Plates printed by:
Reproduction Syndicate
7/1 Cornwallis Street, Calcutta

Published by Sri Pratapaditya Pal
on behalf of The Alumni Association
Department of Ancient Indian History and Culture
University of Calcutta

Sole Agents:
Firma K. L. Mukhopadhyaya
6/1A Bancharam Akrur Lane, Calcutta-12

Price: Rs. 20/-

FOREWORD

It was a happy idea to present a volume of articles by distinguished Indologists, colleagues and pupils to Dr. J. N. Banerjea, the Carmichael Professor of Ancient Indian History and Culture on the occasion of his retirement after a long and distinguished service in the University.

Dr. Banerjea has a place among the eminent Indologists of the country and his contributions to Iconography have broken fresh ground and widened the horizon of knowledge. Dr. Banerjea is leaving the University on reaching the age of superannuation, but he can never be classified as among the superannuated. I am confident that he will continue his scholarly work and add to our volume of knowledge regarding Ancient Indian History.

Senate House, Calcutta-12
Dated, August 8, 1959

N. K. Sidhanta
Vice-Chancellor
University of Calcutta.

राजकीय संग्रहालय लखनऊ

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PREFACE

The idea of presenting Professor J. N. Banerjea with a Festschrift was conceived only a couple of months before the date of his retirement and it was not without apprehension that the task was taken up by our Alumni Association. In spite of the great pressure of time contributions of articles, we are happy to say, came pouring in and were sent to the press directly. It was our original intention to present the Volume to Professor Banerjea on the very day of his retirement, but, with all our efforts, the large number of articles made it impossible for the press to complete printing within such narrow limits of time. The enthusiastic response of the contributors remains, however, the best index of the love and esteem that his friends and pupils bear for Professor Banerjea.

The Volume covers many aspects of Indology, the subject of Professor Banerjea's life long study. A good many articles are discussions pertaining to important branches of early Indian history while a few are representative of the other periods. Iconography and Numismatics constitute two special fields of Professor Banerjea's study. The first is fairly well represented in our Volume, but as none of our invitees had contributed any article on Numismatics, Sri Bratindra Nath Mukherjee has filled up the lacuna by contributing a short article on this branch of Indological studies. We are fortunate in being able to include a study of the *Mahāvastu* representing a substantial portion of a series of lectures delivered by Dr. R. G. Basak as Adhar Chandra Mukherjee Lecturer in Arts for the year 1958. This has been published with the very kind permission of the Registrar, University of Calcutta.

While the Volume was being printed we heard the news of the sad and untimely death of Dr. A. S. Altekar, one of the distinguished contributors to this volume. We sincerely regret this loss which has removed one of the foremost scholars from the field of Indological studies.

It was the time factor again that made the appointment of a panel of editors a difficult proposition thus devolving the burdens upon my shoulders. I crave the indulgence of the readers for errors of editing and printing and express my deep sense of gratitude to Sri S. K. Saraswati whose untiring efforts have made this volume presentable. It has not always been possible to follow consistently any uniform system of transliteration where necessary, as the authors used different sets of diacritical marks for their respective articles for which we express our regrets.

My thanks are due also to Professor Niharranjan Ray for his suggestions and constant encouragement and to my friends Sri Bratindra Nath Mukherjee and Sri Kalyan Kumar Dasgupta for their ungrudging co-operation throughout the progress of the work. The Association is grateful to our Vice-Chancellor, Professor N. K. Sidhanta, for writing a foreword to this volume and to Dr. A. L. Basham of the University of London for his kind message. The members of our Association express their gratitude to Mahamahopadhyay Ananta Kumar Bhattacharyya for composing the praśastī. The press has done a splendid job for which credit is due to Sri Santosh Kumar Bhattacharyya. I owe an especial debt of gratitude to Sri K. L. Mukhopadhyaya and Sri Satyendra Chandra Kar without whose substantial help this Volume would have remained merely an unfulfilled desire.

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University of Calcutta
December, 1959

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श्रीमतो जितेन्द्रनाथस्य प्रशस्तिः

समस्त विश्वस्य च भारतस्य भो
अधीत्य विद्यामितिहासमाश्रिताम् ।
अदृष्टपूर्व्वेष्वपि बस्तुषु प्रभु
र्विराजसे त्वं यशसाभिमण्डितः ।।१।।

सम्यग्ज्ञानलसद्विदग्धपरिषद्दिव्यत्सपर्याजुषे
विद्वन्मानसपद्मिनीं रमयते माधुर्यमुग्धश्रिये ।
प्रज्ञारत्नकिरीटिने धृतिमते संसिद्धविद्यार्थिने
मानार्हाय जितेन्द्र नाथ भवते स्वस्त्यस्तु हिंसाद्विषे ।।२।।

प्रज्ञामन्थनदण्डकेन महता निर्म्मथ्यशास्त्राम्वुधिं
प्राप्तं यद्भवता नवीनममृतं मांगल्यमस्या भुवः ।
तेन त्वं सकलानपि प्रतिदिनं प्राचीनतत्त्वार्थिनः
सम्यङ्नन्दितवानिति श्रवणतो धन्या वयं ह्यास्महे ।।३।।

प्राहु र्भ्रान्तिकरं तथातिगहनं यन्मूर्त्तितत्त्वं वुधा
स्तस्मिन्नेव निधाय सन्ततमहो चित्तं प्रशान्तं मुदा ।
नानातथ्यविचारणापटुतया तत्त्वं यदाविष्कृत
मद्यत्वे वहुधा वयूनशरणा स्तेन त्वया तर्पिताः ।।४।।

विद्याकाननमञ्जुकुञ्जवसति र्धीरालिवृन्दोल्लसत्
प्रज्ञाकल्पलतारसालफलभुक् सर्व्वान्तराह्लादकः ।
दिव्याध्यापनकाकलीकलकल स्तत्त्वज्ञसंवन्दित
श्चित्ताकाशसलीलसञ्चरपटु र्धन्यः पिक स्त्वं भुवि ?।।५।।

वैदुष्यं वहुविश्रुतं वुधमतं वाचस्पतिस्मारकं
शिक्षादानसुचारुता सुविदिता शिष्यान्तरोद्भासिनी ।
दाक्षिण्यं सततं विवेकमहितं प्रीतिः परावान्धवे
सम्भिन्नार्थमयी सदा श्रुतिसुखा साध्वी च ते वाग्मिता ।।६।।

सत्कर्म्मप्रियता तथा सरलता चारित्र्यशुद्धिः परा
लोकप्रेमयुता विचारचतुरा नीतिः स्वधर्म्माश्रिता ।
तत्त्वोद्घाटनपद्धतौ व्यसनिता सर्व्वोपकारस्पृहा
शिष्टाचारसुदक्षता विमुखता निन्दाप्रवादे च ते ॥७॥

असन्दिग्धश्रद्धै रमलमतिभिः पण्डितजनैः
प्रतीच्यैः प्राच्यै र्यत् सुरगुरुनिभैः क्लान्तिरहितम् ।
पुरातत्त्वं यत्नात् परिकलितमासीत्तदधुना
तवाश्चर्य्यस्पर्शान्नवनवतया भाति नितराम् ॥८॥

अनाश्लिष्टा दम्भैः प्रविलसति विद्या त्वयि चिर
मनापन्ना द्वेषै र्हृदयदहरे प्रीतिरचला ।
अनाक्रान्ता लोभै र्जननिवहसेवा निरुपमा
न जाने तद्वाक्यं यदिह तव योग्यं गुणनिधे ॥९॥

इत्येतै र्विबुधोचितै र्बहुगुणैः श्रेयोऽर्थिनामीप्सितै
रस्मन्मानसमन्दिरे ननु निजं यत्स्थापितं पीठकम् ।
तन्मन्ये भवता चले क्षितितले प्रायः प्रमाणीकृतं
नालीकोऽपि सुदुर्लभो जनहृदि स्वस्थानलाभः कलौ ॥१०॥

किमधिक वचसास्मिन् सर्व्वलोकप्रसिद्धे
भवति सुकृतिसिन्धौ मानसम्पत्समृद्धे ।
निरवधि भवतःस्यादीशकारुण्यधन्या
जगतिविमलशान्तिर्ज्ञानविज्ञानजन्या ॥११॥

कलिकाता विश्वविद्यालयस्य
प्राचीन भारतीय इतिहास-संस्कृति-विभागस्य
अन्तेवासिनाम् ।

A LIFE SKETCH OF PROFESSOR J. N. BANERJEA

DIPAK SEN

BORN of a respectable Brahmin family of Bengal in 1895, Jitendra Nath Banerjea completed his school studies from the Kalna Maharaja High School. In 1916 he graduated with first class Honours in History from the Scottish Churches College, and two years later obtained the degree of Master of Arts from the University of Calcutta again with a first class in History. He was appointed an assistant to Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar, Carmichael Professor of Ancient Indian History and Culture (1918), University of Calcutta.

Professor Banerjea's career is one of continuous and devoted service to the University for over forty-one years. Author of numerous papers covering a wide range of Indological topics, Professor Banerjea specialized particularly on Numismatics and Iconography. His monumental work "*The Development of Hindu Iconography*" is not only a unique contribution to Indological studies but is also a permanent testimony to his scholarly brilliance and erudition.

In July, 1952, Dr. Banerjea was appointed the Carmichael Professor in which capacity he served till his retirement in August, 1959. In 1958 he was elected the Dean of the Faculty of Arts and was nominated the Vice-President, University College of Arts, thus ending an eventful academic career at the University.

This by no means exhausts an account of Professor Banerjea's distinguished career. In 1946 he presided over Section I (Ancient India) of the Patna session of the Indian History Congress; in 1949 over the Annual Session of the Numismatic Society of India at Cuttack; and in 1954 over the Historical Section of the Nikhil Bharat Banga Sahitya Sanmelan at Lucknow. A life member and Fellow of the Asiatic Society, he served as its General Secretary during the years 1956 to January, 1960. Sometime a Vice-President of Bangiya Itihas Parisad, he is at present member of the advisory Board of Archæology in India, a Charter Member of the New York International University and an elected Member of the Cultural Section of the UNESCO. He is also connected with social welfare activities in his native village, particularly with the Brindaban Jiu Palli Unnayan Samiti in Hooghly.

Although Professor Banerjea leads now a retired life he is engaged in various research work and we are sure that his future contributions to Indology—the subject of his life long study—will be no less significant than the past.

A MESSAGE

Owing to great pressure of time I cannot contribute a paper to Professor Banerjea's *Frestschrift*; but I would not like the occasion to pass without expressing my respect and appreciation of the work of a great scholar and teacher.

Though I have only met Professor Banerjea briefly I feel that I know very well, through his splendid work on iconography and other topics, through serving with him as an external examiner of theses of Indian universities, and specially through what I have heard of him from the numerous students who have come from Calcutta to London for further studies in early Indian History, and whose ability and enthusiasm have been splendid testimonials to their former *guru*. Never have I heard Professor Banerjea's name mentioned without sincere respect and affection, and there are few university teachers in India or elsewhere of whom I could say the same. I join with his colleagues and friends in regretting his retirement from active university teaching and in wishing him many further years of happy fruitful labour.

A. L. Basham
Professor of South Asian History
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*Photograph by courtesy of Sri Dipak Saraswati, M.Sc.
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INDIAN LIFE AS REVEALED IN THE BUDDHIST WORK, THE *MAHĀVASTU-AVADĀNA*[1]

RADHAGOVINDA BASAK

I

Political Aspect

INDIA is now a sovereign and independent country and is free from the unholy influence of foreign rulers who, wittingly and unwittingly, helped in the past the act of withholding of disclosure of her past history and civilization. Time has now come for us to strive to unravel all important aspects of our cultural heritage which we can possibly cull and collect from all kind of sources, including the literary ones. The most ancient and authoritative literary works, Brāhmanic, Buddhistic, Jaina, etc., deserve careful and critical study. Books like Patañjali's *Mahābhāshya*, Kauṭilya's *Arthaśāstra*, Bharata's *Nāṭyaśāstra*, the *Mahāvastu-avadāna* and the *Divyāvadāna*, the *Uvāsagadasāo* and others are veritable mines of information about our past history and culture. We shall try to understand the evolution of modern Indian national life and culture in the light of what we can gather from our study of these very old Indian treatises, which form almost a virgin field of researches, so that the missing link between the ancient and modern Indian cultural thoughts may be discovered gradually to some extent.

For the last few years I have been studying the Buddhist Sanskrit work, the *Mahāvastu-avadāna* (written neither in pure Sanskrit, nor pure Pali, nor pure Prakrit, but rather in a conglomeration of all the three languages, generally called by scholars as '*the Gāthā dialect*', *or* '*mixed Sanskrit*') and to-day in my first lecture and in the next two, I wish to present to you the results of my study of this work, under the three headings: (1) political, (2) social and economic and (3) religious aspects.

At the outset, I wish to give you very shortly an idea of the form and content of the *Mahāvastu-avadāna*. This work belongs to the *Vinayapiṭaka* of the Buddhist canonical literature, prepared according to the text of the Lokottaravādins of the Mahāsāṅghikas of Madhyadeśa, who were the earliest schismatics of the Second Buddhist Council of the fourth century B.C. These Lokottaravādins, as you all know, were *believers in the doctrine of all the Buddhas being 'Lokottara' i.e. uncommon, extraordinary, and superhuman, who, according to them, adapted themselves to worldly life, only to external view.* The time of composition or compilation of this partly prose and partly versified treatise is according to late Mm. Dr. H. P. Sastri *the third-second century B.C.* But Winternitz was of opinion that the nucleus of the work probably originated as far back as the second century B.C., even though it was enlarged in the fourth century A.D., and later still. However, *the chief contents of the work* relate to biography of Gautama Buddha, adorned profusely with stories and miracles accompanying his conception, birth, renunciation, enlightenment, conversion of some great persons to his faith, and his demise. It also contains some old and new Jātaka stories (i.e. the stories of previous births of the Buddha). In the structure of this biography of the Buddha and his many-sided activities and the Jātaka stories, we can find out many an information regarding the ancient life and culture of the Indians. It is very curious that the *Mahāvastu* itself (III. 250) in some *gāthās* gives an eulogy of the work in these words[1]—"O revered sirs, the great *Mahāvastu* which is a repository of *dharma*, which is full of great knowledge, which can bring welfare to the great mass (of people), has been revealed by Sugata, the perfect Buddha, for the good of all living beings. Those who preach the *Saddharma* (the true *dharma*, i.e. Buddhism) and those who hear it preached, all attain the immovable or immortal *Nirvāṇa* (the blissful state)."

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[1] These three lectures were delivered by the author as Calcutta University Adhar Chandra Mukherjee Lecturer in Arts for the year 1958.

Some *preliminary remarks on ancient Indian political constitution* are necessary at the outset to enable us to com-

[1] महान्तं धर्मसंभारं महाजनर्हितावहं ।
महावस्तुं महाज्ञानं भदन्तसुगतेन हि ।
सर्बसत्वानां हिताय संबुद्धेन प्रकाशितं ।।
ये च देशेन्ति सद्धर्मं शृणोन्ति ये च देशितं ।
सर्वे ते अधिगच्छन्ति निर्वाणपदमच्युतं ।।

prehend easily the contributions of the *Mahāvastu* in this regard. It is now an established fact of Indian history that in ancient time India saw several forms of constitutional governments, such as *monarchical*, *oligarchical*, *republican* and *tribal states* which existed contemporaneously or at different periods of her ancient history, in different parts of the country. But the most prevailing form of early Hindu state-constitution was monarchical. It was not, however, an absolute monarchy, as some scholars might think. It was rather a political system controlled by *sachivas* (*sachivāyatta-tantra* as called by the author of the *Mudrā-rākshasa* drama). These *sachivas* (both *dhi-sachivas* or *mati-sachivas,* i.e. counsellors and policy-makers and the *Karma-sachivas* or high executive state officers) formed, as it were, *a healthy check to the king's becoming despotic* and they were to some extent *the unelected representatives in the Council of Ministers and the Administration*. You all know that the doctrine of the *Saptāṅga* state is the epitome of the theory of ancient Hindu political constitution as advocated by Kauṭilya in his *Arthaśāstra* and in all treatises on *rājanīti*. The seven constituents of state are—(1) The *Svāmin* or *Rājā* (the sovereign), (2) *Amātya* (ministers, counsellors, and *Adhyakshas* or heads of the secretarial departments including all kinds of officers i.e. the whole bureaucracy), (3) *Janapada* or *Rāshṭra* (people of the country-side), (4) *Durga* (military forts and fortified cities, towns and townships), (5) *Kośa* (treasury or exchequer), (6) *Daṇḍa* or *Bala* (army with its different troops i.e. the *chaturaṅga* force) and (7) *Mitra* or *Suhṛit* (allies). Beginning from Kauṭilya we have a traditional list of the eighteen *tīrthas* or *mahāmātras* who are the highest ministerial functionaries in the body-politic (i.e. in the monarchies in India). During the time of the great Maurya emperors including Chandragupta, Bindusāra and Aśoka, *this mahāmātra system of administration was in vogue*, and we find from stray references in the *Mahāvastu* that the same system prevailed in its own time. I feel it necessary here to name these eighteen *mahāmātras* in this lecture. They are as follows:—(1) *Mantrin* (the Chief Counsellor or Premier or Chancellor), (2) *Purohita* (Royal Priest, the King's adviser on matters, spiritual and temporal), (3) *Senāpati*

(War Minister; according to others Commander-in-chief), (4) *Yuvarāja* (Crown-Prince or heir apparent), (5) *Dauvārika* (chief of the Palace Police), (6) *Antarvaṁśika* (Superintendent of the Queen's Department or the harem), (7) *Praśāstā* (Inspector-General of Prisons), (8) *Samāhartā* (Collector-General of Revenue), (9) *Sannidhātā* (Chancellor of the Exchequer), (10) *Pradeshṭā* (Chief Magisterial Officer), (11) *Nāgarika* (city-Mayor), (12) *Pauravyavahārika* (Head of the Dharmasthas or judges i.e. the Chief Justice of the city), (13) *Kārmāntika* (chief officer for Mining and Manufacturing Departments), (14) *Mantriparishadadhyaksha* (President of the Council of Ministers), (15) *Daṇḍapāla* (chief of the army staff, or the chief Punitive Officer according to others), (16) *Durgapāla* (officer-in-charge of forts and fortresses), (17) *Antapāla* (chief Frontier Officer, i.e. the Warden of the Marches), and (18) *Āṭavika* (officer-in-charge of the Forest tracts). It is evident that these functionaries cover almost all possible departments of the administration.

ORIGIN OF KINGSHIP AS IN THE MAHĀVASTU

I have stated elsewhere that in analysing the theory of state, or, in other words, the philosophy of sovereignty, the ancient political thinkers and teachers *could not forget the idea of the sinful aspect of human nature,* which always tends to interfere with the rights and liberties of others over their own security and property, and to violate morals and manners. Hence it is that a governmental institution was a necessity for controlling or coercing human viciousness and wickedness and for keeping secure the life and property of the people, and also preserving their assigned social duties. And it is the proper administration of the power of punishment by a kingly person that can save the society from passing into the condition of *mātsya-nyāya*, as it is technically called in ancient Indian political philosophy, i.e., a state of lawlessness and anarchy in society in which the stronger people oppress the weaker, like the large fish devouring the smaller ones. So they felt that the fear of indignation and punishment by a kingly person ought to be the basis of the social order and of the welfare and security of the people.

The above political idea struck the mind of the ancient

Indian people too, and it is told in the *Mahāvastu* (Vol. I, pp. 358-59), when *it related the history of the homes and origin of the Śākyas and Koliyas*, that being oppressed by the *three wrong and sinful acts*, viz. of theft (अदिन्नदान), falsehood (मुसावाद) and violence (दण्डदान) of the anti-social elements in society on account of which there appeared in society wrong and injustice (अधर्म and असद्धर्म), people wandered hither and thither, met together, discussed and ultimately selected from amongst themselves the most trustworthy (*sarva-prāsādika*) and the most authoritative (*sarva-maheśākya*) person to be their king and addressed the chosen person thus:—"Your Majesty is quite fit to punish him among us who deserves punishment and reward or favour him who deserves honour. We all approve of your being placed at the head of all men, i.e., *we elect you to sovereignty over us all*. And we shall offer you *one-sixth of śāli-paddy* grown in *śāli*-fields of each of us."[1] Then the *Mahāvastu* states vividly certain words regarding such an origin of kingship according to which the king should be styled as *mahāsammata*, *rājā*, *mūrdhābhishikta*, and *janapadas-thāma-vīrya-prāpta*. These are thus explained in that book:—"Thus originated the idea that *mahāsammata* means the person elected by the great mass of the people, that *rājan* means the person who merits or deserves to have the *śāli*-portion from the *śāli*-fields, that *mūrdhābhishikta* (*kshatriya*) means the annointed person who can perfectly guard and protect, and that *janapada-sthāma-vīrya-prāpta* means the person who has achieved the strength and power of the country's people, as he is as it were a father to the people of towns and provinces". This is how the king can declare—"I am king, an annointed noble (*kshatriya*) and one who has achieved the strength and power of the country-people." This description of the origin of kingship in the *Mahāvastu* reminds us of the statement of Kauṭilya (I. 13) on the selection of the king by the people, forming a political community and entering into a social contract or compact according to which the elected king agreed to rule righteously and protect the rights and properties of his subjects, who

[1] भवानस्माकं सत्वं निग्रहारहं च निगृह्णातु, प्रग्रहरहं च प्रगृह्णातु, वयं ते सर्वसत्वानां अग्रताये संमन्येम, स्वकस्वकेषु शालिक्षेत्रेषु षष्ठं शालिभागं ददाम।

again agreed to pay him *taxes in the shape of one-sixth of their field produce.* So it becomes clear that the king is paid to act as the servant of his people. The people of the *Mahāvastu* period held such a view on the relation between the king and his people.

Generally we learn from ancient books that the nobles or Kshatriyas were either made kings, or they succeeded to the hereditary throne. But we have in the *Mahāvastu* an instance of a Brāhmaṇa King of Mithilā ruling in Videha (III. 172). We also know that almost all ancient political philosophers were of opinion that the eldest son should succeed to the throne after his father's death (by the system of primogeniture). But the eldest brother could give up his right of succession to sovereignty to a younger brother asking the latter to take over the kingdom. A king could also establish a brother on the throne to deputize on his behalf during his absence from the capital (III. 15), but the counsellors were to be informed of this arrangement. King Brahmadatta of Kampilla, having no son of his, conceived an affection for Prince Puṇyavanta (III. 40) whom he gave his daughter to be married with and he established the son-in-law on the throne addressing the counsellors and the people of towns and countries thus[1]—"He has become my son, so he will become the king, as I have grown old." There are also many references in the *Mahāvastu* of marriage for political alliances of the parties concerned. Even a son born of a king's concubine (Jenta by name) could be made a king under special circumstances.

DUTIES OF A KING

All ancient Indian teachers of political science are of opinion that the *supreme duty* of a king is to contribute to the happiness (*sukha*) and welfare (*hita*) of his own people and to maintain, as the *daṇḍadhara* (wielder of the sceptre), law and order in his own kingdom, so that the life and property of his subjects may be well secured. *The king's other high duty* is to remain always vigilant over the doings of neighbouring and distant rulers of foreign states and to be ever ready for

[1] एषो मे पुत्रो जातो ताव एषो भवे राजा, अहं वृद्धो।

direct hostility towards them by an act of war, if necessary, against their aggressions. The *Mahāvastu* contains many references to kingly duties (*rājadharmas*) and matters of administrative importance in various contexts. But it treats of the duties of a ruler in some greater detail in a Jātaka story named *Triśakunīya-jātaka* (I. 271-282) wherein we read of three sagacious and intelligent birds, an *owl*, a *sārikā* (or mayanā-bird) and a *parrot*, adopted as his sons by King *Brahmadatta* of Kāśī, living at Banaras on the advice of a Himālayan ascetic, as the king had no (human) son of his own. These birds, having power to talk in human voice, *imparted to their father*, *the king*, *some excellent lessons on rājadharma* in three very edifying lectures.

The first lecturer, the owl-bird, says in the beginning of its lecture that a king should not fall into the power of anger, for both the material and spiritual prosperity and wisdom of a king can only be attained, if he can restrain his anger.[1] Next the king is enjoined not to fall a victim to his own likes and dislikes and also to fear and infatuation. While *administering justice*[2] he is advised to hear the arguments of both parties in a dispute and decide the case righteously. The lecturing bird warns the king against constant engrossment in attractive worldly pleasures,[3] lest his enemies should overcome him. The king should protect his own dominion consisting of both towns and country-side (*paura-jānapadaṁ rāshṭraṁ*) and maintain them both and also his retinue by arranging for them *easy availability of their essential requisites*,[4] so that his own people may not be alienated from him by his enemies. A policy of concession[5] or favour to the poor and preservation of the rich in newly acquired territories should be adopted by him. He should *admit large bodies of*

[1] अक्रुद्धस्य हि राजस्य अर्थो धर्मो जनाधिप ।
प्रज्ञा क्रमति सर्वत्र तस्मा क्रोधं निवारयेत् ॥

[2] उभाभ्यां वचनं श्रुत्वा यथाधर्मं समाचरेत् ।

[3] रंजनीयेषु कामेषु मातिवेलं प्रमोद्यति ।
प्रमत्तस्य हि कामेहि परशत्रु बलीयति ॥

[4] भोगद्रव्यप्रदानेन अभेद्यपुरुषो भवे ।

[5] अनुग्रहं च दीनानां आढयानां परिपालनम् ।

immigrants to his own kingdom as was done by previous rulers. He is exhorted to cultivate friendship (*mitra-bandha*) and not enmity (*vaira-bandha*) with rival kings (*pratirājas*), for all people worship the rulers who contract abiding friendship with other kings.[1] A king should *not indulge in incoherent talk*, but should resort to deliberation on politics based on proper reasons, and should *guard against divulgence*[2] *of state-secrets*, for, even great kings whose secret plans are revealed fall into great distress. Enemies of those rulers who can guard their secrets remain as slaves to him, out of fear of estrangement from their own friends caused by the secret policy of their rivals. The king should always provide for the protection and security of his law-abiding people,[3] for the wheel of *dharma* (proper duties) can only move, if it can depend on the driving force of the king's military power. A king should be circumspect in all matters (*sarvārthehi samīkshākārī*) and awake in taking care of his treasury and granary. A king's realm becomes prosperous (*ṛiddha*), developed (*sphīta*) and populous (*janākula*) if he can rightly arrange for the protection of his people *through righteousness.* Thus can accrue welfare here and happiness hereafter.

The lecture of the second bird, Sārikā (mayanā-bird) refers to the dictum that every state stands steady on two bases[4], namely the king's acquisition of previously unpossessed properties and conservation of new possessions. But he should make efforts for these two acts righteously, for the realm (*rāshṭra*) of a king ruling unrighteously becomes weaker and rent on all sides. A king should know whom to curb or coerce, whom to reward, whom to bring to his own side and whom to favour, otherwise he stands the chance of losing[5] his material prosperity. A king should be vigilantly

[1] वृढ़मित्रां हि राजानो पुज्जेन्ति अपरा प्रजा।

[2] भिन्नमन्त्रा हि राज्जेन्द्रा अनुभोन्ति व्यसनं बहुम्।

[3] धर्मस्थितेषु आरक्षां सदा कुर्यासि पार्थिव।
बलचक्रं हि निश्राय धर्मचक्रं प्रवर्तते।

[4] द्विभिस्तु पादकैस्तात अत्र लोकः प्रतिष्ठितः।
अलब्धलाभो अर्थस्य लब्धस्य परिरक्षणं॥

[5] यो निग्रहं न जानाति प्रग्रहं वा जनाधिपः।
संग्रहानुग्रहं चापि सो अर्था परिहायति॥

alert in *not appointing, to high posts of state in the frontiers, villages and the country-side, his own sons and brothers if they are found to be valiant, violent and vile in temperament.* Claimants[1] to royal patrimony should not be humiliated, for, in that case they are liable to turn into dangerous enemies. A king should always weigh in his mind as to *how to augment his own resources*, curb his enemies and commisserate his own subjects in their distresses and difficulties. He should be careful about the movements near him of persons who may attempt to overhear his talking with his own men. He should always keep a watch on those who are brave, rich, prone to be won over by money, powerful in counselling and irksome. The king should *select and appoint such men as ministers*[2] who are politicians (*artha-chintaka*), learned, uncovetous, loyal and *leaders of people.* A learned minister by his wisdom conduces to the welfare and happiness of the state and its ruler, whereas a covetous and foolish one is of no good to both the king and his kingdom. This lecturer advises King Brahmadatta *to institute a strong espionage system*, for, there is no efficient eye for a king like the spies and *there is no policy like the spying system.*[3] Lastly the bird says that the king's *pratihāra* (i.e., the Chief of the Palace Police) should be wise and vigilant for ensuring the king's ease and comfort.

The third bird, the parrot, discussed on the five sources of the power which a king should desire to possess viz., (1) his brothers (*sahajaṁ balaṁ*), (2) his sons (*putra-balaṁ*), (3) his kinsmen and allies (*jñati-mitra-balaṁ*), (4) his four-fold army (*chaturaṅga-balaṁ*), (5) his matchless wisdom (*prajñā-balaṁ*). A king endowed with this five-fold power can surely make his kingdom firm, prosperous, rich and populous. Of all these powers, intellect or wisdom (of himself and his counsellors) is of the highest value, for, by this the king shuns what should not be done and accomplishes what should be done. This is bound to bring blessings to himself, his friends and relatives and to the whole of his dominion. A man (i.e., a minister) who is deficient in wisdom, though he be of high birth, never becomes helpful to the king, nor dear to his people. The kingdom of such a king with weak intellect both in himself and his counsellors is destroyed by rival kings, and his subjects (*prakṛitis*) *become alienated and seek another sovereign.*[1] That chancellor of a king is highly honoured, who appoints to high offices of state persons brave, heroic and discerning.[2] The bird then refers to the most essential virtue of *adopting a righteous and moral course of conduct* and of shunning the unrighteous and immoral one, and thus doing he can expect to acquire glory[3] in this world and heavenly bliss in the next. This is exactly the seemly conduct which king Aśoka stood for and the spirit of which breathed throughout all his moral edicts. Almost an *echo of the Aśokan sentiments of high morality* (even in politics) pervades this advice of the parrot-politician when he addresses the king of Kāśī to do the right by his parents (*Dharmaṁ chara Mahārāja mātā-pitṛishu pārthiva*), his sons and wife (*putradāre*), his allies and ministers (*mitrāmātye*), the Śramaṇas and Brāhmaṇas (*Śramaṇe Brāhmaṇe*), his citizens and country-folk (*pure jānapade*) and also by this world and the next. Such a king according to the *Mahāvastu*, walking in righteousness, goes to heaven.

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[1] विमानिता हि दायद्या उद्भ्रान्ता भोन्ति शत्रवः ।

[2] अमात्यं देव कुर्यासि पण्डितमर्थचिन्तकं ।
अलुब्धमनुरक्तं च राष्ट्रस्य परिणायकं ॥

[3] नास्ति चारसमं चक्षुः नास्ति चारसमो नरो ।

Any casual reader of Kauṭilya's Arthaśāstra will be able to discern that the above political maxims and doctrines of the *Mahāvastu* are mere reflections of some of Kauṭilya's own political views. It may be assumed that the compiler or compilers of this Buddhist work possessed an excellent knowledge not only of the political philosophy of Kauṭilya, but also of the *dharma-rājya* principle of the Buddhist emperor Aśoka. To my mind these discourses on royal duties represent a versified version in Mixed Sanskrit or *gāthā* language of some of the important political principles of Kauṭilya. It

[1] विरक्ता प्रकृतियो च अन्यं मार्गन्ति स्वामिकम् ।

[2] अतीव सत्कृतो भवति पण्डितो अर्थचिन्तकः।
वरान् यो च स्थापयति शूरां धीरां विचक्षणां ॥

[3] यशं च इहलोकस्मिं संपराये च स्वर्गति ।
अधर्मं परिवर्जेत्वा धर्ममाचरते सदा ॥

is difficult, however, to assert that this *Mahāvastu* Jātaka was pre-Kauṭilyan; it was rather *a post-Kauṭilyan treatise.*

CHAKRAVARTIN KING AND THE SIXTEEN MAHĀJANAPADAS

We know of no sovereign as the lord-paramount ruling over a very large North-Indian domain as *Chakravartin* king (universal king) before the establishment of the Maurya empire. Some of the Pali texts e.g., the *Aṅguttara-nikāya*, the *Dīgha-nikāya*, the *Chullaniddesa* have lists of the famous independent *sixteen Mahājanapadas (big powerful states) into which Northern India was divided and* which flourished just before the Buddha's time (*c*. 567-487 B.C.) and most probably during his life-time also. The *Mahāvastu* casually refers in many places to sixteen *Mahājanapadas* as existing in *Jambūdvīpa* (*India*, II. 2, III. 394). In connexion, however, with Buddha's converting some of the people of these states, the treatise gives us in Vol. I (p. 34) a list of their names as follows:—

(1) Aṅga, (2) Magadha, (3) Vajji, (4) Malla, (5) Kāśī, (6) Kośala, (7) Cheti, (8) Vatsa, (9) Matsya, (10) Sūrasena, (11) Kuru, (12) Pañchāla, (13) Śibi, (14) Daśārṇa, (15) Aśvaka and (16) Avantī.

It may be noted that in this list the sixteen powers or nations have been shown almost in eight pairs, as in the Pali *Dīgha-nikāya*. Again in Vol. III. (p. 419) we have a second incomplete list of these states, (i.e., fourteen only) without mention of Śibi and Daśārṇa, but in one compound word in the following order, viz.—(1) Aṅga, (2) Magadha, (3) Vajji, (4) Malla, (5) Kāśī, (6) Kośala, (then) (7) Kuru, (8) Pañchāla, (and then), (9) Cheti, (10) Vatsa, (11) Matsya, (12) Sūrasena, (13) Aśvaka and (14) Avantī.

It may be noted that the two lists of the *Mahāvastu* omit *the two states of Gandhāra* and *Kamboja* which, occur in the Pali list, but it substitutes in their places Śibi and Daśārṇa.

Another point that should find mention in this connexion is that the *Dīgha-nikāya* has preserved another smaller list of some of these states with the names of their capital cities and this has been reproduced in a somewhat corrupt form in the *Mahāvastu* (in Mahā-Govinda-sutra, III, 208-209). In this sūtra Mahā-Govinda, the Brāhmaṇa, said to King Reṇu of the story that this earth (meaning India) was a wide expanse of seven kingdoms which he mapped out thus:—The centre belonged to King Reṇu. Then are mentioned (1) the *Kaliṅgas* with Dantapura as their capital, (2) the *Aśmakas* with Potana, (3) the *Avantis* with Māhismatī, (4) the *Sauvīras* with Roruka, (5) the *Videhas* with Mithilā, (6) the *Aṅgas* with Champā and (7) the *Kāśis* with Vārāṇasī (Banaras).

This provides evidence that some of the sixteen states were monarchical and some others republican.

Of the sixteen *mahājanapadas* (1) *Aṅga* comprised *the modern districts of Bhāgalpur* and *Munghyr in Bihar.* Its capital was the ancient city of *Champā.* It was once very flourishing and a centre of trade and commerce. The merchants from here went even to far-off Suvarṇabhūmi, south parts *of Annam and Cochin China;* even the Hindus colonized in those countries, and Indo-Chinese Champā was named after the name of Champā of Aṅga. (2) *Magadha* comprised the *modern districts of Patna and Gayā in South Bihar.* Its earlier capital was situated at *Rājagṛiha* (modern Rājgir). It was also called Girivraja, a great stronghold from where, much later, the head-quarters were removed to the newly-founded capital *Pāṭaliputra during the Śiśunāga King Udāyin's reign.* (3) The *Vajjian* confederation (*a republic*) with which was often associated the most powerful clan of the Lichchavikas, had their central *capital at Vaiśālī* (modern Basārh in the Muzaffarpur district of North Bihar). The Vajji territory included eight confederate member-clans (*ashṭakula*), the old Videhas, the Lichchhavis, the Jñātrikas and the Vrijis being the most important among them. Of them Videha clan had its capital at Mithilā. The Jñātrikas formed the clan to which belonged the great Mahāvīra, the founder of Jainism. They had one of their seats at Kuṇḍagrāma in the suburbs of *Vaiśālī.* The four remaining clans were the Ugras, Bhogas, Kauravas and Aikshvākas who resided in the suburbs. (4) The *Mallas* were divided mainly into two parts, those of *Kuśinārā* (identified with Kāsia some 35 miles to the east of Gorakhpur) and *Pāvā* (identified with the modern village named Padraona some 12 miles to the north-east of Kāsia. It is indeed a fact that, as told in the *Mahāparinirvāṇa Sūtra,* the Mallas were sometimes called as Vaseṭṭhas (men of the Vaśishṭha *gotra*). The *Mahāvastu* in its story of Gautama's renunciation mentions that the Bodhisattva rode southward twelve *yojanas* from Kapilavastu to the territory (*Vishaya*) of the Mallas to an *adhishṭhāna* (site) named Anomiya, not very distant from the hermitage of the seer Vaśishṭha.[1] (Probably the locality of Vaśishṭha's hermitage influenced the Mallas to be called also Vāseṭṭhas). (5) The province (Janapada) of *Kāśi* with its *capital Vārāṇasī* is mentioned many times in the *Mahāvastu* in different contexts. It was a monarchical state, highly prosperous and it was the ambition of its rulers to become the most prominent amongst all other kings and the lord of the whole of Jambūdvīpa (India). (6) The kingdom of *Kośala* was very famous during Buddha's life-time. Ancient Kośala may be taken as corresponding to *modern Oudh.* It was however, divided into two parts, north and south. *Śrāvastī* (modern Sāhet-Māhet near Goṇḍa district of U.P.) was *the capital of North Kośala* and *Kuśāvatī that of South Kośala.* Buddhist Jātaka stories describe on many occasions *a great rivalry between the two courts of Kaśi and Kośala*, the latter having become more powerful by the conquest and annexation of the former. *Kaśi-Kośala became later on a great power.* Historians know that Kośala's rivalry with Magadha ended when that kingdom became absorbed into the Magadha empire, (probably under either the Śiśunāgas or the Mauryas). *Some texts attribute the fault of this rivalry between the Kaśis and Kośalas to the latter. But the Mahāvastu* (in Vol. III, 349 ff) gives in the *Ājñāta-Kauṇḍinya Jātaka* that the king of Kośala was a virtuous and a mighty monarch, who was honoured for his generosity and liberality, intent on doing favour to others (*parānugraha-pravṛitta*) and having an eye to the next world (*paralokadarśin*) and he was regarded as *dhārmika.*

But the King of Kaśī who was *not other-worldly* (*aparalokadarśin*) intended to invade the kingdom of the Kośalas. He invaded the land of the Kośalas, (being fully equipped with the four arms, the elephant troops, the cavalry, the chariots and the infantry). But his invading forces were routed and broken up by those of the Kośalas. Again, Kāśī twice invaded the Kośala territory. In the conflicts many thousands of people, having exposed their bodies to the *swords*, *arrows*, *śakti weapons* and *axes*, fell into misfortune and calamities (तत्र बहूनि प्राणिसहस्राणि उभयतो अन्यमन्यस्य असिशरशक्तितोमराणि काये उपनिपातेन्ता अनयव्यसनमासादयन्ति III. 350). A turn in the mental attitude of the just, kind and considerate king of the Kośalas came when he saw so much loss of men and resources, because of the *greed for a kingdom by the Kāśī King* who destroyed so many people and perpetrated so much of wrong (*adharma*). Hence the Kośala King left his kingdom and went away to the Dakshiṇāpatha (Deccan). While on journey thereto he met a sea-faring Kośalan merchant (*samudra-yātrika sārthavāha*) who was proceeding by land coming from the southern sea (*dakhiṇāto samudrāto*) towards Kośala after a ship-wreck which caused the loss of all his cargo. He could not recognize *the Kośala King now in disguise*, but knowing of him as a compassionate and just ruler, always devoted to help others in poverty he thought that his own country's king would grant him some money which would enable him to ply his trade again and to recover from the ship-wreck disaster. Having told the disguised king of his loss of valuable wares at sea, the merchant expressed the hope that the king would give him material assistance. The king, on hearing this story, wept and shed tears. The king disclosed his identity to the ship-wrecked Kośalan merchant and said that his kingdom was invaded by *the Kāśi ruler who robbed all its properties*. Realizing the despair of the merchant the Kośala king devised a new way and asked him to tie his arms behind and take him to the king of Kāśi who would certainly be pleased to grant riches to the merchant because of his capture of the Kośala king. He was then taken to Kāśi and the king of that territory feeling amazed at *the idea of the self-sacrifice of the Kośalan King declared*—"It is not right for us to deprive such a righteous king of his kingdom."[1] He then consecrated once more the King of Kośala to his own throne and left for his own kingdom and the Kośala King then bestowed on the merchant a large amount of riches.

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[1] बोधिसत्वो.... दक्षिणेन द्वादश योजनानि नीतो मल्लविषयं अनोमियं नाम अधिष्ठानं वशिष्ठस्य ऋषिस्य आश्रमपदस्य नातिदूरे। महावस्तु, II. 164.

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[1] न युक्तमस्माकं एवं धार्मिकस्य राज्ञो राज्यमपहर्तुमिति। पुनरपि कोशलराजानं स्वके राज्ये अभिषिंच्य काशिराज्यं गतः। (III. 353).

This story serves as an evidence of the old struggle between the two kings of Kośala and Kāśī and it is stated in the *Ājñāta-Kauṇḍinya Jātaka* of the *Mahāvastu.* But in a later period Kośala was annexed by the Kāśī rulers to their kingdom. It may also be noted here that Kośala kingdom exercised political sway over the Śākyas of Kapilavastu in the Nepalese Terai and in the *Majjhima-Nikāya* Buddha is mentioned as a Kośalan person ("भगवापि कोसलको अहम्पि कोसलको").

(7) The *Cheti* or *Chedi* kingdom lay near the Yamunā river and between the Kurus and the Vatsas. Its capital is stated in Buddhist literature as *Sothivatīnagara* (probably equivalent to *Śuktimatī* of the Mahābhārata). In ancient period Chedi corresponded roughly to the eastern part of modern Bundelkhand and its hilly tracts.

(8) The mahājanapada of the *Vatsas* (or Vaṁśas) was situated south of the Ganges on its right bank near that of Chedi. Its famous *capital was Kauśāmbī.* King Udayana of this kingdom was very powerful and was Buddha's contemporary. His rivalry with the Avanti King Pradyota is a historical fact. Most literature states that at last Udayana fled with the king's daughter, Vāsavadattā.

(9) The mahājanapada *Matsya* may be regarded as corresponding to modern Jaipur in Rājasthāna. Its ancient *capital was Virāṭanagara* (modern Bairat). This country is associated in Buddhist literature with the Śūrasenas. According to our late friend Dr. H. C. Ray Chaudhury it was probably, after loss of its independence as a monarchical constitution, annexed to the neighbouring kingdom of Chedi.

(10) The territory of the *Śūrasenas* had its capital *at Madhurā,* also called *Mathurā.* Buddhism grew here after its king, named Avantiputra, was converted to be a disciple of the Buddha. Krishṇa-worship was prevalent here at the time of Megasthenes when Śūrasena had already become an integral part of Magadha.

(11) The *Kuru* territory was a big one and it had its *capital Indapaṭṭa,* i.e., *Indraprastha* near modern Delhi. The town of Hastināpura is also mentioned to have been situated in this kingdom. In Buddha's time this country is known to have

been under a titular chieftain named Koraya. It later changed its monarchical constitution to a republican one, as is also referred to in the *Arthaśāstra* of Kauṭilya, and the Kurus were known as *rāja-śabdopajīvinah* (using only the title of *rājās*).

(12) The old *Pañchāla* territory, comprising *modern Rohilkhand and a part of the Central Doab*, was divided into two parts, northern Pañchāla with *Ahichhatra* (modern Rāmnagar in the Bareilli district) as capital and southern Pañchāla with *Kampilla* (in the Farakkabad district) wherein once lived and ruled the famous legendary universal king, Brahmadatta, who is, however, described in the *Mahāvastu*, as the king of Kāśi. The famous *city of Kānyakubja* (*Kanauj*) was situated in Pañchāla territory. Later *this monarchical constitution changed for a republic*, as we also find in Kauṭilya's *Arthaśāstra* (XI. 1) in which, like the Kurus, the Pañchālas established a Śreṇī or Saṅgha form of government in which the elders were *rāja-śabdopajīvinah*.

In the *Kuśa-jātaka* story as related in the *Mahāvastu* we observe that the Queen-mother Alindā asked her ministers and priests to send out Brāhmaṇas and messengers (*dūtas*) to the cities and provinces in all quarters to find a suitable bride for her son, Kuśa, son of King Ikshvāku of Kaśi. The Brāhmaṇas and messengers scoured the sixteen janapadas and came to the city of Kānyakubja[1] which is stated here as situated in the province of Śūrasena and there they found a King of Madrakas, named Mahendraka, reigning there and his daughter Sudarśaṇā the most beautiful maiden in whole Jambudvīpa was selected to be the bride of Kuśa to become his chief queen. So we find here Kānyakubja situated in the janapada of Śūrasena and not Pañchālas.

(13) The territory of the *Śibi* (old Siboi) people were most probably the inhabitants of *the Shorkot region in the Jhang District of the Punjab*, below the junction of the Jhelum and the Chenab. Their capital was at *Śibipura* (modern Shorkot). Alexander met the Śibi people in that region in the fourth century B.C. Probably the Śibis later migrated to Rājasthana

[1] ते यानि ब्राह्मणा च दूता च जनपदान्वमाना शूरसेनेषु जनपदेषु कन्नकुब्जं नाम नगरं तत्र अनुप्राप्ता। तत्र महेन्द्रको नाम मद्रकराजा राज्यं कारयति।

and lived in Madhyamikā (modern Nāgarī near Chitor), an ancient city, known to Patañjali's *Mahābhāsya*. Coins of the Śibi-janapada were also found. It had a republican constitution. The Śibis are also found mentioned in some Pali Jātaka stories.

(14) The people of *Daśarṇa* are placed by late Dr. H. C. Ray Chaudhury as dwelling on the river Dasān (Dhasan) in Bundelkhand. But Kālidāsa places these people in the Vidisā or Bhilsā region. It was, according to this view, a country forming *the eastern part of Malwā* with its capital at *Vidiśā* (modern Bhilsā) situated on the Vetravatī or Betwā of the *Meghadūtaṁ* (vv. 24-25) and Kālidāsa also makes Vidiśā a river which is probably the same as Bees, that joins the Betwā.

(15) The *Aśvaka* (Aśmaka, or Pali Assaka) country was on the banks of the Godāvarī with *its capital at Potana-nagara*. In some Buddhist texts it is associated with Avanti and it seems probable that its territory approached the southern part of Avantī. Some old scholars took the country as representing the Mahārāshṭra. In Buddha's time the ruler of Assaka was a king—Prince Sujāta being his son.

(16) In Buddha's time *Avanti* was a great kingdom under king Pradyota Mahāsena, father of Vāsavadattā, queen of Udayana—the other famous contemporary rival kingdoms then being those of *Magadha*, *Kośala* and *Vatsa*. *This country roughly comprised the Ujjayinī region*. This mahājanapada was divided into two parts—the northern one with *Ujjayinī as capital* and the southern with the capital at Māhismatī as stated in Buddhist literature. *Ujjayinī*, modern Malwā, Nimar and some adjoining parts of the Madhya Pradesh formed the ancient Avanti kingdom.

We have noted above that the *Mahāvastu* list of *the sixteen mahājanapadas* did not contain the names of Gandhāra and Kamboja, as in Pali lists; but it mentioned in their place the Śibi and Daśārṇa countries, although we have some reference to both these countries in some contexts of this treatise. We briefly state that:

(16*a*) *Gandhāra* represented the country formed by modern Peshawar, and Rawalpindi districts in the northwest (now in western Pakistan), with its *capital at Takshaśilā*

(Taxila) which was in olden days a great centre of trade and learning.

It may be noticed that Gandhāra finds a mention in Pāṇini's grammar and it appears that it was situated (as pointed out in I.H.Q. recently by Prof. D. Kanjilal) to the south of the Kapiśā comprising the valley of the Kabul river. Some Buddhist stories take Kashmir as included within Gandhāra, which, with Takshaśilā, is also mentioned in Aśoka's Inscriptions.

(16*b*) The association of Gandhāra with the neighbouring country of *Kamboja* is well-known. This country (Kamboja) formed a hilly province round about ancient Rājapura (modern Rajaori) *near Punch* and included *the Hazara District* (now in western Pakistan) extending probably as far as Kafiristan. In the earlier period it had a monarchical constitution, but in Kauṭilya's *Arthaśāstra* we find the Kambojas *as having a Saṅgha type of republic, living on agriculture*, cattle-breeding, trade and commerce and war-weapons (*vārtā-śastropajīvinah*). According to Professor D. Kanjilal "the territory watered by the head waters of the Oxus and comprising the Ghalches speaking areas of Pamir was known from the age of Pāṇini as Kamboja." This country is also mentioned in Aśokan Inscriptions. In some Buddhist works these people are said to have non-Aryan customs. The *Mahāvastu* (II. 145) refers to the well-trained good horses (*Kambojakā aśvavarā sudantā*) of this region.

Besides the above-mentioned countries (*janapadas*) and towns (*nagaras*) the *Mahāvastu* has mentioned in various contexts many other geographical sites, such as, the mountains Himavanta (the Himālayas), the Vindhya, the Kailāsa, the Gandhāmādana, the Jugandhara, the (fabulous) Meru, Sumeru; the rivers, Gaṅgā, Yamunā, Śatadru, Nairañjanā, Sarasvatī, Godāvarī, the Narmadā; *the four continents* (ruled by a universal king, *a chakravartin*) of *Jambudvīpa*, *Pūrvavideha*, *Aparagodānika* and *Uttarakuru*, China (Chin), and the Dakshiṇāpatha, Kaliṅga, the towns Siṁhapura, Hastināpura, Gayā, Champā (III. 204), Śrāvastī, Vaiśālī, Madraka country, Dīpavatī, Mathurā, Maru, Ṛisipattana (Mṛigadāva), Kapilavastu, Nālandā-village, Lumbini-village, Uruvilvā-village, Gṛidhrakūṭa, Dantapura (III. 204, 359, 362), Girivraja (III. 93), Senāpatigrāma (III. 299, 416, 427), Sārathipura (III. 319), etc.

DESCRIPTION OF A PROSPEROUS KINGDOM

Whenever an opportunity presented itself the *Mahāvastu* described a prosperous kingdom of a good and righteous king, whether of Kāśi, Kośala, Videha, Pañchāla or any other province, almost in similar terms. Firstly a universal king (*chāturanta*, *chakravartin*, *chāturdvīpa* or a *rājachakravartin*) is described as holding political sway over the four continents, *Jambūdvīpa*, *Pūrvavideha*, *Aparagodānika* and *Uttarakuru*. He is triumphant, just, a *dharmarāja* (righteous king), possessing the seven excellent treasures (*saptaratna-samanvāgata*) namely, (1) the wheel-treasure (*chakraratna*), (2) the elephant-treasure (*hasti-ratna*), (3) the horse-treasure (*aśvaratna*), (4) precious gem-treasure (*maṇiratna*), (5) the household-treasure (*gṛihapatiratna*), (6) the woman-treasure (*strī-ratna*), and (7) the leader treasure, i.e., the treasure of a large body of counsellors and administrators (*pariṇāyakaratna*). Such a universal king is said to possess a large number of brave, courageous and comely sons who are able to vanquish all foes. In this context we can cite the instance of a just (*dhārmika*) king of Kośala (III. 346-347) who is described as virtuous (*kṛitapuṇya*), majestic (*maheśakhya*), powerful (*mahābala*), wealthy with large treasures (*mahākośa*), and having great conveyances (*mahāvāhana*). His dominion is prosperous (*ṛiddha*), well-developed (*sphīta*), peaceful (*kshema*), well-supplied with food (*subhiksha*), having a thick population (*ākīrṇa-jana-manushya*) and subjects living very happily (*sukhita-manushya*). In the kingdom of a good king all violence, noisy affrays, riots or revolts are kept quelled (*praśānta-daṇḍa-ḍimba-ḍamara*) and the robbers and thieves are held in check (*sugṛihīta-taskara*). The realm thrives in trade (*vyavahāra-sampanna*) and is governed with justice (*dharma-paripālya*). Such a king's renown spreads in all countries as being very liberal and generous in distributing charities (*dāna-saṁvibhāgaśīla*). His kingdom is free from providential calamities and disturbances (*nirupadrava* and *nirītika*) and is without the troubles caused by the unsocial elements in society (*akaṇṭaka*).

A KING BANISHED BY THE COUNSELLORS AND THE PEOPLE FOR OVER-CHARITABLENESS

The Buddha once praising of merits and virtues before the congregation (vide *Vijitāvin Jātaka,* III. 41 ff) told them of King Vijitāvi of Mithilā for his liberality and generosity. This king could not refuse to give anything to Śramaṇas, Brāhmaṇas, the poor and the beggars. Whoever wanted an elephant, a horse, chariot, a conveyance, a woman, male and female slaves, clothes, vessels, cows, gold, cash-money, etc. i.e., whoever wanted anything, the king used to fulfil his desire. He felt exultation[1] by liberality and charity and never regretted his gifts afterwards. Now on account of his excessive largesses, *there was depletion of the royal coffers.*[2] So the officers of the *gāṇanika* department (Accountants), the great state-functionaries, the hereditary counsellors, and the townsmen and country folk and the mass of people all met together and (after deliberation) banished the king to settle in a forest-grove in the Himālayas. So we find that a democratic force was prevalent even then for advising the ministers for banishing a king who caused a failure of treasuries by his gifts. Of course, the king was later restored to his own throne by those very persons who had driven him out, because they found their kingdom fallen in draught, and short of food, and oppressed by thieves, and enemies since his banishment.

[1] अथ खलु ददन्तो परित्यजन्तो आत्तमनो भवति न च दत्त्वा पश्चादनुतप्यते।

[2] सो दानि अतिदानं ददाति कोशानि क्षीयन्तीति। गणकेहि च महामात्रेहि च कुमारामात्येहि च नैगमजानपदेहि च महाजनकायेन च संनिपतित्वानं ततो राज्यतो विप्रवासितो समानो अनुहिमवन्ते महावनषण्डे।

II

Social and Economic Aspects

PART I

It is known quite well to you all that the materials for drawing out a picture of social life in ancient India are well provided by the *Gṛihya-sūtras*, the *Śrauta-sūtras*, the *Dharma-sūtras* and the *Smṛiti-saṁhitās* and that scholars have dealt with them in their various contributions. We are here concerned only with some supplementary matters on certain topics of social life as we could collect from our study of the *Mahāvastu.*

There are numerous references in this treatise of the different members of the society of the times, e.g., the Brāhmaṇas, the Śramaṇas, the Kshatriyas and also of the merchants (*śreshṭhins*), the craftsmen, the artisans, and many other sorts including the Chaṇḍālas and Pukkaśas. This book does not, however, clearly state anything about the *chaturvarṇas* and *chaturāśramas* in so many words. There are only a few references to these two systems with regard to description of non-Buddhist members of the society, specially of those who embraced the Brāhmaṇic faith. Generally we do not find much about the rules of castes and orders in this book. That the highest status of social life was assigned to the Brāhmaṇas and Śramaṇas is evident in it, and next comes the status of the ruling class, the Kshatriyas. In the second (i.e., the economic) section of this lecture we shall deal with a very large number of guilds of traders, craftsmen and artisans, who must have belonged to other classes of society-men (mostly the Vaiśyas and Śūdras). Not much stress is given in this book on the *jāti* or birth or family in which people were born. But merits of individual persons and virtuous life alone did count with the people of the *Mahāvastu*-period. Disabilities of the earlier period of Brāhmaṇic influence on the Śūdras are not much in evidence here and they only reappeared in society, as you know, in still later periods of Indian history.

SLAVES AND SLAVERY

The system of slavery was prevalent in ancient India from very early times. The Smṛiti books give descriptions of various kinds of slaves, acquired by birth, purchase, gift, capture and other methods—and their social disabilities are also mentioned therein. Slaves, both male and female, lived in householders' families. Those books also provide legal ways for the release of people from slavery and servitude. Generally speaking, they worked as household servants. Kings and rich men of the Indian society possessed slaves in large numbers to work as such. They were often treated in an inhuman way.

The *Mahāvastu* enjoins in one passage (I. 18) that those people in the world who cause slaves to be shackled with fetters and chains and get them work forcibly, are liable to be reborn in a hell on account of maturing of their cruel and sinful deeds. The book also says that enslaving of beings who are without protection or refuge is a sinful action and those who do so, go to hell. Rich merchants used to possess large numbers of bondsmen (*dāsas*) and bondswomen (*dāsīs*) in their house. Reference to slaves' reciting wise-sayings even to kings is found in this treatise (I. 95). Often kings are seen to make gifts of slaves, male and female, to those who needed them in times of distress. Śuddhodana's palace was crowded with slave-women (*cheṭīs*) and courtesans (*velāsikās*) and also fair-looking women standing still or moving about, and even holding scimitars in their hands (*pragṛihīta-khaḍga-hastā*). Reference is obtained to a possible faithlessness of a man to his wife of high degree, chaste and devoted, and to his new faith in a slave-girl (II. 57). *Cheṭīs* (slave-girls) often served in the house of rich courtesans also (cf. *Śyāmā-Jātaka*, II. 166 ff). The venerable Mahākāśyapa once reported to Ānanda that he left his comfortable home wherein there were five hundred bondsmen (*dāsas*) and so many bondswomen (*dāsīs*). In the house of Śārīputra's father at Nālandāgrāmaka there lived a large number of female and male slaves. Even in rich priestly Brāhmaṇa families, along with abundant resources, a large number of both male and female slaves worked. This was in Avantī. Again at Mathurā and Banaras in the house of guild-presidents (*śreshṭhins*) many male and female slaves found occupation. King Bimbisāra granted amongst other gifts a hundred female slaves to his Brāhmaṇa priest and tutor for the latter's celebrating the glory of the Buddha who came to his kingdom. Thus we see that slavery as a system prevailed in India at the time of the *Mahāvastu* period also.

HARLOTRY OR THE PROFESSION OF COURTESANS

Ancient Indian society acknowledged the profession of *gaṇikās* or courtesans as an institution. Kings kept courtesans in royal courts. These courtesans enjoyed a social status on account of their high accomplishments. They were proficient in the arts of singing, acting and playing on musical instruments and expert in attracting the mind of rich people. They were fully possessed of the art of wiles for infatuating their lovers. You know that there is a chapter in Kauṭilya's *Arthaśāstra* named *Gaṇikādhyaksha* (II. 27) from which we can get an idea of the profession of these harlots who enjoyed a status recognized even by the Administration which, through the *adhyakshas* or superintendents, could determine the earnings, inheritance, income, expenditure and future prospects in their profession and realize some particular taxes from them. In this connection we may remind ourselves that one of the most beautiful and earliest Sanskrit dramas, the *Mṛichchhakaṭika*, contains the thrilling record of how a very rich and highly accomplished and noble-minded courtesan, named Vasantasenā, felt happy and fortunate in contracting genuine love for a very respectful and accomplished person, Charudatta—a Brāhmaṇa of a lofty social order, and how at last by the king's decree they were both united in marriage and the bride, Vasantasenā, once a harlot, obtained the state permission to assume the highly covetable social status of a householder's family, viz., a *vadhū* (house-wife).

It may now interest you to know further that we find in the *Mahāvastu*, as in the Pali literature, that the famous courtesan of Vaiśālī, Āmrapālikā by name, accompanied the Lichchhavis to give a grand reception to Lord Buddha during his visit to Vaiśālī. Courtesan Āmrapālī even entertained Lord Buddha by an invitation to her house for a meal to be taken along with his disciples, and after the hospitality she made over her Mango-grove to them. It may sound strange that we read in the *Mahāvastu* of an ancient king of Sāketa named Sujāta who had five royal princes through a duly married Kshatriya wife. But the king had a concubine named Jentī whose son was named Jenta. Jentī pleased the king by her womanly qualities and the king, being gracious to her, offered her the choice of a boon (I. 348). She asked her parents about the king's wish and they advised her to ask for the boon of a good village ("ग्रामवरं याचाहि त्ति") for them. There was there a certain female devotee (*parivrājikā*), learned, crafty and intelligent, who remarked to Jentī saying thus:—"You are yourself the daughter of a concubine, your son has no right to any of his father's properties, not to speak of his kingdom ("जेन्ति त्वं वेलासिकाये धीता, तव पुत्रो न किंचित् पैतृकस्य द्रव्यस्य प्रभवति, किं पुन राज्यस्य" I. 349). But those five princes, sons of a Kshatriya noble woman, have full right to their father's kingdom and estate" ("एते पंच कुमारा क्षत्रियकन्यापुत्राः ते पैतृकस्य राज्यस्य च द्रव्यस्य च प्रभवन्ति" I. 349). This *parivrājikā*, moreover, pointed out to Jentī that King Sujāta was a man not to go back on his word, and being truthful was sure to keep his promise. So she advised Jentī to request the king thus—"Banish, O King, those five sons of yours from the kingdom and anoint my young son (Jenta) as heir to the throne" ("महाराज, एतां पंच कुमारां राज्यातो विप्रवासेत्वा जेन्तं कुमारं युवराज्ये अभिषिंचाहि" I. 349). Jentī did request the king as directed, and the king granted her the boon asked for, although he was sorely troubled on account of his love for the five princes, but having offered a boon to his concubine, he could not do otherwise. Almost the whole body of people of the cities and provinces accompanied the five banished princes to the Himālayan region. We find here in the story that generally a concubine's son by a king had no right to paternal property, but the king could create such right by appointing his courtesan's son to succeed even to the throne.

It may, again, interest you to know that in the *Mahāvastu* (II. 166-177) there is a Jātaka story called the *Śyāmā-Jātaka* in which we have a graphic picture of the life and conduct of a very rich courtesan of Banaras, named Śyāmā, who lived in the courtesans' quarter or street of the city and who was described as extremely rich in gold and silver furnitures and jewellery, also as having a suite of many servants, slaves, labourers and maids. Her love for a merchant, named Vajrasena, a horse-dealer (सार्थबाह अश्ववाणिजक) hailing from Takshaśilā, who came down from that far off north-western region to Banaras with a caravan of horses, and his wrong conviction by the royal court of Banaras for alleged theft in the royal palace and the king's order for his execution and his subsequent escape through bribery arranged by Śyāmā and his ultimate unfortunate attempt to drown to death his mistress, Śyāmā, in her residential lake, when she was made dead-drunk, may provide us with materials for tracing the throttling of Vasantasenā by Śakāra in the *Mṛichchhakaṭika* drama. There is another agreement between the two stories. Śyāmā also, like Vasantasenā, was, with the king's permission, allowed to live as a member of the household of the father of a former lover of hers. It seems that such raising of courtesans to a high social status was indeed a kind of legalization of an illegitimate social act of the age. By the way, we have a reference in this Jātaka-story to actors of Taxila coming down to Banaras for performance of their dramatic art and Śyāmā could understand the conversation of the actors in a Northern dialect or speech which could be well understood by her, although she was an inhabitant of Banaras, because of her previous company with the horse-dealer of Taxila, Vajrasena, her former paramour, from whom she must have picked up that dialect ("ताये दानि श्यामाये तेषां नटदारकानामुत्तरापथकं भाष्यं प्रगृहीतं" II. 175). Rūpavanta, the son of a counsellor of a king named Añjanaka of Banaras, always spoke in praise of beauty, thinking that it (beauty) was the supreme thing in the world and to show his comrades the fruit of his beauty he went down to a stall in the market of the city of Kampilla where he caught the eye of a leading courtesan (*agra-gaṇikā*), who fell in love with Rūpavanta, because he was so charming, comely and stately with perfect beauty of complexion. The courtesan invited him to her fine dwelling-house through a maid as messenger. The beautiful man was bathed with perfumed oil, bathing powders and exquisite ointments and was arrayed in garments of Kāśi-silk, and was given costly food to eat. At Rūpavanta's instance the courtesan gave a hundred thousand pieces of gold (coins) to the four companions of his. When the companions came there, they saw Rūpavanta sitting in the arms of the lady. Rūpavanta told his friends that by beauty only he had won a store of wealth in a courtesan's house. So we see that leading courtesans possessed much wealth. The names of two other courtesans of Banaras, named Kāśikā and Upārdhakāśikā of lovely body which they got as a maturing of their good Karma in their former lives are found mentioned in the *Mahāvastu*, their fee being very high.

It is not strange that the high-class courtesans (*gaṇikās*) were addressed by people with the title *āryadhītās* (daughters of Āryas). Dispute often arose regarding their fees (*bhāṭakās*) which were generally charged high from merchant's sons (*Śreshṭhi-putras*).

SOME MARRIAGE CUSTOMS

Marriage in Indian life has always been held as a religious sacrament and it is never, even now, taken as a contract of a secular nature. There have always been some prohibitions of marriage-relation between cognates and agnates, although there are also some exceptions, e.g., the custom of marrying the maternal uncle's daughter among the southerners. In the history of the homes and origin of the Śākyas and Koliyas (in Vol. I of the *Mahāvastu*, pp. 338-359) we have a clear reference to the political fact that the town of Sāketa was the capital of the joint state of Kāśī and Kośala and that the Śākyas of Kapilavastu had a sort of political subordination to the Kośala rulers. In this story of the *Mahāvastu* we also read of the banishment of the Śākya princes (the sons of King Sujāta) from Kāśī-Kośala and of their travel towards the Himālayan region where was situated the hermitage of Rishi Kapila (probably the founder of the Sāṅkhya system of philosophy) from whose name, it is stated there, the Śākya capital was so called (Kapilavastu) ("ऋषिस्य नामेन कपिलवस्तुं" I. 351; "कपिलेन ऋषिना वस्तुं दिन्नं ति कपिलवस्तुसमाख्या उदपासि"

I. 352). These princes lived for some time in the Śākoṭa-grove of that region whereto used to go merchants from Kāśī-Kośala and wherefrom merchants came out to the latter place for trading purposes. It is described that these princes, out of fear of defilement of their special race, arranged mutual marital connection of their own female relatives and sisters among themselves, that is to say that they did not seek their marriage relationship with other racial families, lest their blood should be polluted. This historical information reminds us of the prevalence of a similar practice (described also in some Pali Jātakas) in the early *seṭṭhi* families, of marrying within their *jāti* and such marriages amongst themselves were regarded as desirable and underogatory. This may be treated as due to a deep concern of these rich racial groups of commercial community for equal marriage and purity of blood. In the *Mahāvastu* story referred to above, we find King Sujāta asking his ministers as to whence those princes had arranged to get their wives and they answered referring to the prevailing custom as stated above ("राजा अमात्यानां पृच्छति। कुतो कुमारेहि दाराणि आनीतानि। अमात्या आहन्सुः——श्रुतं भो महाराज कुमारेहि जातिसंदोषभयन स्वकस्वका येव मातृयो भगिनीयो परस्परस्य विवाहितायो, मा मो जातिसंदोषं भविष्यतीति।" I. 351). It should not sound strange that on the king's reference to the royal chaplain (*purohita*) and the learned Brāhmaṇas (*Brāhmaṇa-paṇḍitas*) as to the propriety of such marriage relation, the latter gave their approval to it, saying that such actions as taken by the princes could be permitted ("शक्या एतमेव कर्तुं यथा तेहिं कुमारेहि कृतं।" I. 351) and there would accrue to them no sin for taking such a step ("शक्यं महाराज कुमारा ततो निदानं दोषेण न लिप्यन्ति" I. 351). King Sujāta became highly pleased on hearing of this verdict from the Brāhmaṇa-Paṇḍitas and made a solemn utterance (*udāna*) to the effect that the princes would henceforward be called Śākyas (i.e., fit to be permitted for taking such wives) and that their name or title would be Śākiyas or the Śākyas. ("शक्या पुनर्भवन्तो कुमारा। तेषां दानि कुमाराणां शक्यं शकिया लि समाख्या समाज्ञाप्रज्ञप्ति उदपासि" I. 351).

As regards the various marriage rites we find from the *Nalinī-Jātaka* as told in the *Mahāvastu* (III. 150-151) that the royal priest of the king of Banaras gave the royal maid, Nalinī in marriage to the seer, Ekaśṛiṅga, joining their hands. The seer's father Kāśyapa told his son that during his marriage he had to call the *deva* of the fire to witness, and to perform the water-ritual, and to join his hands with those of Nalinī, and that they could not forsake each other through all their lives. ("सो दानि तं पुत्रं एकशृंगं ऋषिकुमारं आह--पुत्र एषा तव नलिनी राजकुमारी अग्निदेवं साक्षीकृत्वा उदकेन पाणिगृहीता दिन्ना। एषा ते भार्या त्वं च एतस्या पतिः। न लभ्या युष्माभिः परस्परस्य त्यजितुं" III. 151). Very likely the allusion of giving a girl to wife by the water-ritual is to the vessel of water which is carried by one who follows the pair of bride and groom when they go round the fire and sprinkles them with water at various points of the circumambulation ("एतेन तु एषा भार्या अग्निं प्रदक्षिणीकृत्वा उदकेन पाणिगृहीता भार्या लब्धा ति" III. 151).

In this connection I shall refer my readers to a peculiar marriage as described in the famous story of the *Kuśa-Jātaka* (Vol. II and III), as delineated in the *Mahāvastu*. Briefly it may be stated that Kuśa's father, King Ikshvāku of Banaras had Alindā, his duly wedded chief queen, and a harem of four hundred and ninety-nine mistresses all of whom were barren. The king was pining for a male offspring and reflected that although he had an extensive realm and such a large harem, yet he had no son and he feared that he would remain childless until he died and his country would fall a prey to his enemies. The king consulted his household priest and the latter counselled to the king a most unjust, unseemly and improper course, advising him to let out his entire harem, keeping only Alindā, the chief queen in the palace, three times a week to take pleasure with whatever man they liked in order that King Ikshvāku might have descendants. Śakra, the Trāyastriṁśa deva, disguised as a decrepit, aged, senile Brāhmaṇa appeared before the king's court in Banaras and chose queen Alindā for himself. The King asked the old man to choose another woman, but the Brāhmaṇa told the king not to go back on his word and break his promise first giving him the choice of any woman of his harem. The King permitted the queen to go with the old Brāhmaṇa, who at the close of the night stood before Alindā in his own form (of Śakra) and offered her the choice of a boon and the queen chose the boon of a son. Indra granted her prayer and gave her a medicinal pill advising her to stir it in water and swallow it and surely she would get a son who would be like a lion, strong and able to crush his enemy. He also said—"There will be no one in the whole world equal to him in powers. But that son will be ill-favoured of complexion and form, because the queen did not provide him with the joy of rapture as promised by the King". The King in anger did not give the Queen to swallow the pill, but he ground it on a stone, stirred it in water and gave it to his four hundred and ninety-nine young queens to drink on a blade of kuśa grass. But Alindā, the chief Queen, was not given to drink of the pill, lest she should beget an ill-favoured son. All queens conceived and in time gave birth to beautiful and handsome sons. A son was born to Alindā also, but that son was ugly, repulsive, thick-lipped, thick-headed, thick-footed, pot-bellied and black in appearance like ink, because she also tasted a drop of water on the mill-stone with the tip of her tongue by means of a blade of kuśa grass. The King, however, refused to see such a son of queen Alindā and he wanted him not to become king after his death. After, however, the death of his father, it was Kuśa who with his great intelligence and reflective power successfully understood the message of his father, kept with the ministers, and the latter, in consultation with the other princes, the priests, the Brāhmaṇa royal tutors, the army officers and all the people of the towns and countries, made Kuśa the King. After having ruled his kingdom for some time, Kuśa once appealed to his mother, queen Alindā, to bring him a handsome wife who was to be his chief queen. His mother told him that no one would give her handsome and lovely daughter in marriage with him because he himself was ill-favoured in beauty. So Alindā said to him that wives and husband's live together happily when they are equal in beauty, for then they are not jealous of each other and that a beautiful wife reproaches an ill-favoured husband, and a handsome husband an ill-favoured wife. Hence she wanted to seek for a wife who would be suitable for her ugly son, Kuśa. But the latter pressed for marrying a beautiful wife even from a distant land at the price of gold.

Brāhmaṇas and messengers were sent out by ministers and royal priests to find out a maiden who would be suitable for King Kuśa and they in going round all provinces came to the city of Kānyakubja in the province of Śūrasena where a king of the Madrakas, named Mahendraka, was reigning and there the Brāhmaṇas and messengers saw the most lovely and beautiful daughter of the king, named Sudarśanā going out of the city to the park and they thought that she would be a suitable chief queen for King Kuśa. They then interviewed King Mahendraka and opened before him their proposal of marriage between King Kuśa and Sudarśanā. Mahendraka agreed to the proposal. The spokesman of the delegation of messengers then bought some sweetmeats and distributed them among themselves as a mark of celebration of the betrothal. The best maiden in the whole of Jambudvīpa, they reported to the ministers and priests, had been chosen by them for King Kuśa's marriage. The queen mother Alindā approved the proposal and the news was communicated to King Kuśa who then, with a glad heart, asked the ministers, councillors, Brāhmaṇas, priests and royal tutors to make arrangement for fetching Sudarśanā from Kānyakubja for him and they being equipped with an army of four divisions set out with great splendour and magnificence and on reaching that city they told Mahendraka to fulfil his promise by giving his daughter, the proposed bride, for their King Kuśa. Then Mahendraka performed the rite of giving the bride for becoming the wife of Kuśa to the accompaniment of shouts of people and the beating of drums, kettle-drums, tabours and the blowing of trumpets, and the members of the deputation sent from Banaras performed the rite of taking the bride and they departed home. There is no mention, however, in the Jātaka story about any further solemnizing of the marriage when the bride arrived at Banaras. Even before the arrival of the bride, a king's daughter, the queen mother Alindā thought of the means by which Sudarśanā should not know what her groom, King Kuśa, was like in complexion and form. She devised a way deciding to provide a dark inner chamber, plastered inside and outside, but draped with festoons of fine cloth, made fragrant with incense and strewn with garlands of flowers, wherein her son, Kuśa could divert, enjoy and amuse himself with his wife—but both not seeing each other with their eyes. Sudarśanā could not understand the reason why the bed-chamber was made dark and no lamps were lit in it. She felt sad for not knowing what her husband, King Kuśa, was like in complexion and form, nor did, according to her view, Kuśa know what Queen Sudarśanā was like in complexion and form. She privately asked her husband for the reason, but Kuśa replied saying that he himself did not know of this, but his mother must know this and he advised her to ask the queen mother. Sudarśanā enquired of her mother-in-law about this matter saying that she failed to understand why in such a rich royal family such an arrangement was made of a bed-chamber where no lamps were lit day and night and they both (husband and wife) lived together in darkness without seeing each other with their eyes. The Queen Mother replied saying—"Sudarśanā, you both, husband and wife, are sublimely beautiful. I have seen none others like you. The object is that you should not see each other's beauty and become distraught in mind. But I have also made a covenant with the gods that you should see each other only after a long time, twelve years, after you, my daughter-in-law, have a son or daughter. This is our family custom" ("अपि तु एवं च मे देवानामुपयाचितं चिरकालं अस्माभिः यदा मे वधुकाये सुदर्शनायें पुत्रो वा धीता वा भवेया ततो द्वादशमे वर्षे परस्परं पश्यिष्यथ । एषोस्माकं कुलधर्मः" III. 445). For my present purpose I need not pursue the story which ended happily by Śakra favouring King Kuśa with the grant of a single rope of pearls with the *jyotirisa* gem which when fastened on the King's head removed his bodily deformity and made him look very beautiful in complexion and fair, and which kept hidden in his dress makes him recover his original ugly form. In Indian society there was a strong belief in the influence of *maṇi* (gem), *mantra* (incantation) and *oshadhi* (medicinal herb), even in so early days.

We can also guess of political alliances between kings through marriage relationship. Kings are often found advised to dower daughters with thousand pieces of gold and get royal sons-in-law (*jāmātṛis*) for achieving political strength.

FOOD AND DRINK OF PEOPLE; THEIR DRESS AND ORNAMENTS

There is a clear reference in a passage (III. 14) that the country-people in northern India generally fed themselves in barley-meal in powder form and were always clothed in blankets. Their food was coarse and their work was also so ("शक्तुभक्षा जनपदा नित्यं कम्बलप्रावृता। लुहभुक्ता लुहकर्मा" III. 14). Rice, wheat and many other cereals are mentioned. When poor boys go out to fetch wood they used to carry for their food knapsacks containing junket condiments, rice-gruel, solid food, meat dishes, sesamum. Confection, curds, curry, fish, fruits, ghee, ginger, honey, mead-drink, meat, mustard, fragrant rice, roots, sweet-meats, toddy drinks and spirits were taken by men of society according to their ranks and habit. In rich people's houses, men were served with food that was seasoned with flavours and condiments and there was plentiful meat, the flesh of boars, fish, buffaloes, young goats and sheep, cocks and peacocks, pheasants, quails, *lāvakas* (a kind of lobster? or quail), francolin partridges and cranes. "वराहमत्स्या महिषा अजेडकशावक-कुक्कुट-मयूरा। तित्तिरवर्त-कलावक कपिंजल सारस पि प्रभूता॥" (III. 82).

Kāśi silk was mostly used by rich people, men and women. Gold and silver ornaments were much in use. Gems and jewelleries decorated the persons of royal families and rich men of society.

EDUCATION AND TRAINING OF HIGH-PLACED PRINCES

In order to be distinguished in life, princes and ministers' sons were given proper education and training from early ages. We learn from the *Mahāvastu* that when princes reached years of discretion at the age of seven or eight they were taught reading, writing, calculation (संख्या), numeration (गणना), craft of sign-manuals (मुद्रा), mnemonics (धारणीय), riding on elephants and horses and chariots, the use of bow and the bamboo, running, racing, swimming, archery, fighting, combat, cutting, stabbing and striking, and leading an army in battle and training in kingcraft. Under royal tutors the princes and ministers' sons were given training in Vedic lore and other branches of learning.

It is a most curious claim of the Buddhists that the important arts and sciences were revealed for the benefit and welfare of the world by the Bodhisattvas (i.e., the potential Buddhas, high personages blessed with good qualities of head and heart). It is stated in the *Mahāvastu* (I. 134-135) that all charms (मन्त्र) and medicines (अगद) were discovered by them; all remedies (भैषज्य) were prescribed by them; all sciences on the ascertainment of truth (तत्त्वनिश्चययुक्तानि शास्त्राणि) were developed by them; all methods of mathematical calculation (संख्यागणनं) and all forms of writing (मुद्रास्थानानि) were invented by them; all kinds of scripts (such as, Brāhmī, Puskarasārī, the Kharoshṭhī; the Yāvanī or the Ionian or the Greek, Pushpalipi, the Dardara, the Chinese, the Hūṇa, the Vaṅga, the Tramida or Dravidian etc.) were introduced by them; and even all fields of gold, silver, tin, copper, lead, precious substances and gems were revealed by them.

BOTANICAL KNOWLEDGE

Trees

The Buddha, being asked by the monks as to how the Lord succeeded in leading away Śāriputra and Maudgalyāyana along with 500 monks from the pitiless heretical ways of the Parivrājaka (Wanderer's) sects and saved them from the rounds of birth, death and old age, related the Jātaka story of the Five Hundred merchants (III. 67 ff) in which, it is described that as the king of horses, named Keśin, he went from the land of Uttarakuru to the terrible sea-girt island of the Sirens (*rākshasī-dvīpa*) where they fell into their hands after a ship-wreck caused by a monster fish and saved by him and led across the great ocean and set down in Jambudvīpa. In that Jātaka we observe the ship-wrecked merchants approaching the grove of the Sirens and here we find a most important enumeration of various kinds of trees, flowers, plants and creepers growing in the grove. And it gives us an idea of the good knowledge possessed by our ancient people about botany. The trees mentioned are:—(1) Aśoka, (2) Atimukta, (3) Champaka, (4) Priyaṅgu, (5) Śāla, (6) Tilaka, (7) Vakula, (8) Kula(ra)vaka, (9) (bushes of) Punnāga (red amaranth) and (10) Tālīsa. There were also (11) (flowering) Karīra, (a kind of thorny plant fed upon by camels), (12) Kulattha, (13) Karamarda, (14) Jīvaka-latā, (15) Navamālikā (a variety of jasmine), (16) Pāṭaloka (trumpet-flower), (17) Kareṇu, (18) Kāvāra, (19) Varshaka or Vārshika varieties (agallochum), (20) Kārī, (21) Mallikā, (22) Kuvyaka, (23) Madagandhika, (24) Sāra (Sāla), (25) Tāra (Tāla, palmyra trees), (26) Āmra, (27) Karṇikāra, and (28) Vakula. There were also (29) Nāga-vṛiksha, (30) Bhavya, (31) Pālevata, (32) Pippala (the holy fig-tree), (33) Kapittha (wood-apple tree), (34) Āmrātaka, (35) Saptaparṇa, (36) Mucilinda, (37) Sahakāra, (38) Vilvāra (Bel), (39) Nārikera (coco-nut), (40) Mocā (plantain tree?), (41) Panasa (bread-fruit) (42) Kharjūra (date-tree), (43) Jaṁbīra (the lime), (44) Mātuluṅga (citron), (45) Akshoḍa (walnut), (46) Tamāla, (47) Kiṁśuka, (48) Mṛidvīka (vine) and (49) Dālima (pomegranate). It goes without saying that some of these varieties of trees and plants cannot be identified now.

PART II

To speak of the economic conditions is to speak on the *vidyā* called *vārtā*, which is defined by Kauṭilya as the science of agriculture (*kṛishi*), rearing of live-stock especially cows, oxen, horses etc. (*pāśupālya*), and trade and commerce (*vaṇijyā*). First of all, we cannot forget that the *Arthaśāstra* of Kauṭilya has fully discussed some of the following economic topics, viz., (1) laying out new villages and townships in the country-side, (2) settlement of untilled and uninhabitable land, (3) planning of fortified towns and forts, (4) storing of treasures by the Chancellor of the Exchequer (*sannidhātā*), (5) collection of revenue by the Collector-General (*samāhartū*), (6) examination of jewellery and other valuables for entry into the royal coffers under the store-keeper (*kośadhyaksha*), (7) establishment of factories for mining operations under the superintendent of mines (*ākarādhyaksha*), (8) the duties and functions of the Chief Superintendent of Gold (*suvarṇādhyaksha*), (9) commodities manufactured by the State itself (*paṇyādhyaksha*), (10) forest products under the supervision of the *kupyādhyaksha*, (11) balances, weights and other measurements under the *mānādhyaksha*, (12) collections of tolls and customs and other taxes under the *śulkyādhyaksha*,

(14) weaving under *sūtrādhyaksha*, (15) agriculture under *sītādhyaksha*, (16) liquor under *surādhyaksha*, (17) prostitutes or harlotry under *gaṇikādhyaksha*, (18) ferries and fleet under *nāvādhyaksha*, (19) cattle, horses, elephants, chariots and foot-soldiers under *go'adhyaksha* and other superintendents, (20) pasturage under *vivītādhyaksha* and (21) salt business which was a state monopoly. We cannot in this connection forget the Kauṭilyan maxim that sale of commodities at the places (fields or factories) of their production is forbidden (price to be fixed up by Government). Let us now see if we can collect from the *Mahāvastu* any new and additional information about the Indian economic life of the times.

TRADE AND SEA-FARING MERCHANTS

Hundreds of merchants used to leave Jambudvīpa (India) by setting sail on the great ocean in sea-going vessels to seek for wealth by trade. Monstrous fish often caused ship-wreck. Floats of various kinds such as jars, planks, rafts etc. are found mentioned as being used by men during the breaking up of sea-vessels. People during ship-wreck used series of bottle-gourd (अलाबुश्रेणियो). Stories of sirens on such occasions are also read in the book, who entice merchants to their own abodes and later imprison them in their strongholds. But they are sometimes, as the story goes, taken across in safety, by a fabulous horse-king, named Keśin, coming from the land of Uttarakuru, on the *Karttika-pūrṇimā* day, who reaches the ship-wrecked merchants to Jambudvīpa. Those who cannot escape are devoured by the sirens. During ship-wreck, as is natural with those who fall into such disaster, the wrecked merchants call upon the devas they believe in—some calling on Śiva, others on Vaiśravaṇa, others on Śkanda and Varuṇa, some on Yama and others on Kuvera, others again on thousand-eyed Virūḍhaka and yet others on Śakra, Brahmā, Dīśā; and this is all for escape alive from the sea.

TRADE IN HORSES

Many ancient kings had in their royal stable hundreds of fleet horses of Sindhu country and with trained horses from Kamboja country. These two were birth-place of good horses. In the *Śyāmā-Jātaka* as told in the *Mahāvastu* we read that a horse-dealer named Vajrasena traded on horses coming down from Takshaśilā even upto Banaras for selling horses.

It is very interesting to know that there occur two nearly parallel passages in the *Mahāvastu* (III. 112-114 and III. 442-443) wherein we have an authoritative list of various artisans, craftsmen and guilds of tradesmen and manufacturers, prevailing in the early economic life of India. These references may serve, to a very great extent, as supplementary information to those scholars who write on 'Economic Life in Ancient India'. The two occasions that gave rise to the insertion of such a list by the compiler or compilers of the treatise were the two receptions to Lord Buddha accorded respectively by his father, Śuddhodana, at Kapilavastu and by King Bimbisāra at the Magadhan capital, Rājagṛiha, on his visits thereto after his attainment of perfect enlightenment. Both the rulers wanted to go forward to greet the Lord in the company of all sorts of their subject-people including the Brāhmaṇas and the house-holders (*Brāhmaṇa-gṛihapati-kehi*), all the parties of musicians (*gāndharvikehi*), all workers on arts and crafts (*śilpāyatanehi*) and the trading or commercial guilds or corporations (*śreṇīhi*). A proclamation was made to that effect by order of the ministers of both these kings in various squares (quadrangles), high-road junctions and market-places (*chatvara-śṛiṅgāṭaka-antarāpaṇa-mukhesu*). On hearing of this proclamation there assembled near the palace-gate (*rājakula-dvāre*) along with the members of the Council of hereditary ministers (*kumārāmātya-parishadyāḥ*), the military chiefs (*bhaṭabalāgrāḥ*), the Brāhmaṇas with the Royal Priest at the head (*purohitapramukhā Brāhmaṇāḥ*), the people of the trade-centres, i.e., the merchant-people with their chief, the *Śreshṭhins* at the head (*śreshṭhipramukha nigama* or *vaṇig-grāma*) and other trading people with their caravan-chief at the head (*sarthavāhapramukha vaṇig-grāma*) and the eighteen kinds of *śreṇīs* or guilds. It may be remarked in passing that the words *śreshṭhin, sārthavāha* and *kumārāmātya* in these passages of the *Mahāvastu* remind us of their occurrence in the Damodarpur copper-plate documents of the Gupta period discovered by us in North Bengal nearly 43 years ago.

The passages under reference contain a list of three large categories of trading-people, as follows:—

Category I—The *Gāndharvikas* (musicians and players on various musical instruments)—

(1) *chakrika* (the discus-holders or wheel-players, who exhibit tricks by discus or wheel);
(2) *vaitālika* (the court-minstrels whose duty is to awaken kings, princes or chiefs at dawn with music and song);
(3) *naṭa* (the actors or gesticulators);
(4) *narttaka* (the dancers);
(5) *ṛilla* (the players of a particular instrument; or cymbal-players, prize-fighters; drummers, if the reading be *jhalla*);
(6) *malla* (the athlets, wrestlers, performers of gymnastic exercises);
(7) *pāṇi-svarika* or *paṇi-svanika?* (the players of musical instruments through hands, or the palm-strikers, the players clapping their palms);
(8) *śobhika* (clowns wearing decorations; jugglers, if the reading be *saubhika*);
(9) *laṅghika* (tumblers doing acrobatic feats, performers of leaping, jumping or mounting exercises by means of bamboos and ropes);
(10) *kumbha-tūṇika* (has the word anything to do with players with jars and quivers?);
(11) *velaṁbaka* (exhibitors of pendulous, hanging or oscillating exercises; if the reading be *viḍambaka*, the meaning is performers of mimicries);
(12) *dvistala-bhāṇaka* (meaning obscure; perhaps the word is *dvistrika-bhāṇaka*, a kind of reciters or proclaimers who amuse others by uttering the same thing in two or three sounding ways);
(13) *pañchavaṭuka* (obscure; perhaps players playing with five young chaps);
(14) *gāyanaka* (singers);
(15) *bhāṇḍavika* (players of a musical instrument called *bhāṇḍa*, or those given to buffooneries);
(16) *bherī-śaṁkha-mṛidaṅga-paṭahika* (music-players through kettle-drums, conches or trumpets, tabors and war-drums);

(17) *tūṇava-paṇava-veṇu-vallakī-ekadaśī-vīṇā-vādaka* [players on the musical instruments called *tuṇava* (meaning obscure), *paṇava* (small drums or tabors), *veṇu* (flutes or pipes), *vallakī* (a kind of lute or guitar), *ekadaśī* (Is it any one-stringed instrument?), and *vīṇā* (the famous Indian lute) and many other *vādyakas* (players on musical instruments);

(18) *guṇavarta* (those who play with ropes);

(19) *tāṇḍavika* (the performers of *tāṇḍava* or frantic or violent dance of Śiva);

(20) *chetayika* (obscure; does it mean men who can produce emotions in others' mind by words or gestures?); and

(21) *gaṇikā* (harlots or courtesans who used to attend these parties of musicians).

Category II—The *Śreṇīs* (the corporate bodies of traders, or guilds of industrial manufacturers):—

(1) *sauvarṇika* (goldsmiths);

(2) *hairaṇyika* (dealers in gold, silver and other precious metals, i.e., the bullion-dealers; according to some assayers of gold etc.);

(3) *prāvāraka* (makers of cloaks, or cloak-dealers);

(4) *maṇiprastāraka* (gem-setters; *prastārika*, dealers in precious stones, jewellers);

(5) *maṇikāra* (jewellers or lapidaries, gem-engravers);

(6) *śaṁkhika* (makers of conch-shell articles);

(7) *dantakāraka* (makers of ivory articles, ivory carvers);

(8) *gandhika* (perfumers);

(9) *kośāvika* (workers in silk-worms?);

(10) *tailika* (oil-manufacturers, oilmen);

(11) *ghṛitakuṇḍika* (dealers in ghee or clarified butter in pots);

(12) *gaulika* i.e., *gauḍika* (dealers in molasses or rums);

(13) *vārika* (probably dealers of vessels for holding spirituous liquors);

(14) *kārpāsika* (cotton-dealers);

(15) *dadhyika* (dealers in coagulated or sour milk, or curd);

(16) *pūpika* (cake-makers);

(17) *khaṇḍakāraka* (makers of candied sugar);

(18) *modakakāraka* (sweet-meat makers, confectioners);

(19) *kaṇḍaka* (*kāṇḍaka*?, cane or reed workers, or arrow-makers);
(20) *samitakāraka* (*samitākāraka*?, grinders of wheat-flour);
(21) *saktukāraka* (or *śaktukāraka*, makers of barley flours, or flours of other bread corns or cereals);
(22) *phalavāṇija* (fruiterers or dealers in fruits);
(23) *mūlavāṇija* (dealers in plant-roots);
(24) *chūrṇakuṭṭa* (powder-makers, those doing pulverizing work);
(25) *gandhatailika* (dealers in perfumed oils);
(26) *aṭṭavāṇija* (dealers in or sellers of boiled rice);
(27) *āgrīvanīya* (meaning obscure);
(28) *ābiddhaka* (perhaps, perforators, pore-makers or metal drillers);
(29) *guḍapāchaka* (cookers of raw sugar or molasses or treacles);
(30) *khaṇḍapāchaka* (cookers of sugar candies);
(31) *śuṇthika* (vendors in dry gingers);
(32) *sīdhukāraka* (makers of rum, or distilled spirit);
(33) *madhukāraka* (honey-gatherers, or makers of intoxicating drinks or wines);
(34) *śarkarāvāṇija* (sugar-merchants or dealers in refined sugar); and such other *vyavahārikas* (business-men).

Category III—The *Śilpāyatanas* (the artisans and craftsmen):—

(1) *lohakāraka* (blacksmith);
(2) *tāmrakuṭṭa* (copper-smiths);
(3) *suvarṇakāra* (goldsmiths; also probably makers of gold coins named *suvarṇas*);
(4) *taddhukāra* (meaning obscure; shakers of gold dust? If the reading be *tardukāraka*, it may mean ‘makers of wooden bowls”);
(5) *pradhvopaka* (*prachchopaka*, *pradhmāpaka?* (manufacturers of articles by means of blowing pipes);
(6) *roshiṇa* (*roshiṇya*, testers of precious metals by rubbing them on touch-stones?);
(7) *trapukāraka* (tin-smiths);
(8) *sīsa-pichchaṭakāraka* (makers of lead-sheets);
(9) *yantrakāraka* (makers of tools and instruments);
(10) *mālākāra* (garland-makers, florists);

(11) *purimakāraka* (obscure; if taken as *parṇikāraka* it may mean 'vendors of betel leaves');
(12) *kumbhakāra* (potters);
(13) *charmakāra* (dealers in leather and hide goods, tanners shoe-makers);
(14) *kandukāra* (oven-makers, boiler-makers?);
(15) *ūrṇavāyaka* (weavers of woollen threads);
(16) *varūtha-tantravāyaka* (weavers of coats of mail);
(17) *rakta-rajaka* (dyers);
(18) *devatā-tantra-vāya* (makers of robes for deities or idols);
(19) *chailadhovaka* (washers of garments, laundrymen);
(20) *rajaka* (washermen);
(21) *śuchika* (probably *suchika* or *sauchika*, tailors or workers in embroidery with needles);
(22) *tantravāya* (cloth-weavers);
(23) *tūlavāya* (cotton spinners or weavers);
(24) *chitrakāra* or *chitrakāraka* (painters);
(25) *vardhaki-rūpakāraka* (carpenters and carvers of images, or portrait-makers);
(26) *kālapātrika* (*kālapāchika*? rasin or pitch-makers);
(27) *peśalaka* or *pelalaka* (beautifiers? one reading is *śelalaka* bitumen workers? some suggest the reading as *peṭakāraka*, basket-makers);
(28) *pustakakāraka* or *pustakāraka* (transcribers of books or manuscripts, copyists);
(29) *pustakarmakāraka* (plasterers, model-makers in plastic substances, or workers in clay, wood or metal?);
(30) *nāpita* (barbers);
(31) *kalpika*, *kalpaka* (toilet-makers, hair-dressers);
(32) *chhedaka* (wood-cutters or mowers of crop-plants or grasses);
(33) *lepaka* (brick-layers or plasterers, masons);
(34) *sthapati-sūtradhāraka* (architects and carpenters);
(35) *uptakoshṭhakāraka* (store-keepers of agricultural products, keepers of granaries);
(36) *kūpakhanaka* (well-diggers; or, according to some, miners);
(37) *mṛittikāvāhaka* (earth-carrying labourers);
(38) *kāshṭhavāhaka* (wood-carrying labourers; the reading *kāshṭhavāṇija* is better, meaning wood-merchants);

(39) *tṛiṇavāṇija* (dealers in straw and straw-made articles);
(40) *valkalavāṇija* (bark-merchants);
(41) *stambavāṇija* (dealers in grass and shrubs);
(42) *vaṁśavāṇija* (bamboo-merchants);
(43) *nāvika* (boatsmen or sailors);
(44) *oḍumpika* (or *olumpika*, raftsmen or those crossing a river etc. by means of rafts);
(45) *suvarṇadhovaka* (workers clearing gold-dust by washing away dirts); and
(46) *moṭṭika* (crushers, grinders or breakers; *maushṭika*, not a happy reading in this context, for, it means tricksters, sharpers, cheats or rogues—a dishonest occupation).

From the above lists in the *Mahāvastu* containing 101 items we can have a splendid idea of the economic condition of the people in early period of Indian history.

III

Religious Aspect

To speak of anything about the religious aspect of the Indian people of the *Mahāvastu* period is to tell you mostly on the prevailing *dharma* (i.e., Buddhism) at the time. As I referred to in my first lecture that the *Mahāvastu* contains mostly all the important episodes of the Buddha's life and teachings and also some of his Jātaka stories, old and new, so in this my last lecture I shall deal only with some particular topics on religious matters believed by the *Mahāvastu* period people, for one can hardly expect to deal with all topics exhaustively in one lecture.

I have hinted before that the *Mahāvastu* is by itself a preeminently religious treatise at the initial stage of Mahāyāna Buddhism. So I wish firstly to give you briefly my impression of the nature of the influence of Mahāyāna on the poet-philosopher Aśvaghosha's mind while he was depicting the life and career of Gautama Buddha in his famous Sanskrit epics, the *Buddhacharita*, the *Saundarānanda* and his drama (discovered in fragments), the *Śārīputra-prakaraṇa*.

Aśvaghosha is regarded by scholars as one of the earliest exponents of Mahāyāna Buddhism. In order to enable us to understand the *Mahāvastu* tenets, I give below some of the Mahāyāna ideas that can be traced in the books of this great Buddhist teacher and writer. We find explicit and implicit reference to—(1) the stress laid on Buddha-*bhakti*, the Master being an object of devotion and worship to His devotees; (2) the deification of Buddha who should be regarded as a god above all gods, as it is thought by the Mahāyānists that Gautama Buddha is the *rūpa-kāya*, material body, or *nirmāṇa-kāya*, created body, of the real Buddha; (3) the Bodhisattva's glory almost too difficult to be borne, as his mother Māyādevī died soon after his birth, being unable to bear the excess of joy on account of the glory of the son; (4) the excessive use of the miraculous element in the legends and episodes of the Bodhisattva's career, examples of which are copious even in the *Mahāvastu*; (5) the importance of thinking about the vanity of existence, renunciation and abandonment of all desires and cravings, and firm resolve of the Bodhisattva to attain *parinirvāṇa* (emancipation from individual existence) by causing extinction of all re-births and regarding the world as *anitya* (transient or impermanent); (6) the dedication of the Bodhisattva's life in his several existences (as also illustrated in the Jātaka stories) to the service and welfare of humanity, He being anxious to deliver the distressed world from the sea of misery by means of his raft of knowledge; (7) the refutation of some of the Brāhmaṇical religious thoughts and practices (specially performance of severe austerities and sacrifices of different kinds), as He thought that *nivṛitti-dharma* was quite a different thing from *pravṛitti-dharma*; and (8) the gradual development of the *anātma-vāda* and *śūnyatā* (both *pudgala-śūnyatā* and *dharma-śūnyatā* i.e., the non-existence not only of any *ātman* or *pudgala* or individuality, but also of the objective world), the main idea being that the *kshetrajña* or the individual soul always remains *prasava-dharmā* and *bīja-dharmā* and cannot totally discard the triad of *ajñāna*, *karma*, and *tṛishṇā* and attain the state of *ākiñchanya*.

The above Mahāyānic ideas will be partly illustrated in my discourse on similar and other points as culled by me from my study of the *Mahāvastu*. But yet before doing the same I cannot but offer certain other preliminary remarks on the great Gautama Buddha's personality and the philosophical atmosphere in His time prevailing in India. It must be acknowledged that the early Buddhist scholars, Brāhmaṇa and non-Brāhmaṇa, first acquired the Vedic lore including that of the Upanishadic doctrines, because without a good knowledge of those, it is difficult to understand properly the Buddha and Buddhism. Why did the Buddha rebel against Brāhmaṇic Hinduism and how far did he differ from the tenets and doctrines of the Vedic religion and Upanishadic philosophy? These are questions which cannot be fully answered in this lecture, but may occasionally be referred to in a critical mood. But it may be remarked that the Buddha was a dynamic personality. He was universal love, kindness, and perfect wisdom personified. Being a great rationalist in philosophical thoughts and conceptions, He always appealed to reason (*yukti*) while analysing human ventures in search

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for the ultimate Truth (*tathā* or *tathatā*) or Reality. The whole world regards him as a great master of moral force, a great renouncer, and a supreme physician for healing human diseases of passions and torments. Let us form an idea of the philosophical atmosphere which the Buddha found himself in at his own time. The chief religious and philosophical system that prevailed in our country in pre-Buddhistic age was that of the Upanishads and therein we observe more emphasis being laid on knowledge (*jñāna*) than on actions or works (*karma*) such as the Vedic ritualistic institutions including performance of sacrifices (*yajñas*) in which sacrificial slaughter of animals was involved. Even in Buddha's own time these ceremonials did not fully cease to work on people's mind, though the first impact on Vedic *karmakāṇḍa* inflicted by the Upanishadic spiritual teachings had commenced to be felt somewhat earlier. The revolt against such *karma* came, however, to have a powerful influence on men's mind when the Buddha began to preach his sermons after his attainment of perfect enlightenment or *sambodhi* in his thirty-fifth year. But in this hostility against the Brāhmaṇic cult of ritualistic *karma*, the Ājīvika, the Nirgrantha (the Jaina) and the Lokāyata schools of philosophy which were current in Buddha's own time joined their hands to some extent. It is known that the Ājīvika sect of which Gośāla Maṅkhadiputra was the founder believed in the doctrine of *niyati* (predestination or fate) according to which all phenomena, physical or mental, are unalterably fixed or ordained; and the members of this sect cherished no faith in human efforts or exertions (*purushakāra*). The Jaina sect founded on a strong basis by the great Mahāvīra accepted harmlessness or abstinence from violence or doing injury to others, in thought, word or deed. The third chief leader, contemporary of the Buddha, was *Keśakambalin*, a materialist and unbeliever in God or Soul and probably inclined to the Lokāyata system of Chārvāka in which also we find its adherents rejecting the authority of the Vedas and refraining from performing all the Brāhmaṇic ceremonials and sacrifices and also denying the doctrine of transmigration and salvation acknowledged by the Brāhmaṇic systems. To these materialists matter only counted, and soul was understood by them to be body with only the attribute of intelligence (*dehātmavādins*). They also denied the existence of all that transcends the senses and salvation to them was only the dissolution of the body which was nothing but a combination of the gross elements. Orthodox Hinduism received a severe handling from the Lokāyatas and the early Buddhists. There was another prominent religious leader in Buddha's time, a Brāhmaṇa preacher, named Sañjayin, the head of the Parivrājaka sect, who had for his disciples both Śāriputra and Maudgalyāyana before their complete renunciation and ordination to Buddhism, and their becoming two most famous, beloved and devoted disciples of the Buddha. This Sañjayin was rather a sceptic cherishing doubt in the solution of the philosophical problems, such as, whether the world is permanent or impermanent, whether there is continuity of life or self after a man's death, whether the world has its beginning or it is beginningless, etc. To the Gautama Buddha the above-mentioned sectarian tenets and doctrines seemed to be unsatisfactory, unreasonable and unappealing, though they severally made strong impress on his mind in some respects.

Against this back-ground I wish now to draw a picture of some religious topics, discussed and referred to in the great *Mahāvastu-avadāna*. First, I take up the subject of repudiation of Brāhmaṇic fire-sacrifice, austerities and penances. Once in the topic of conversion by Buddha of Śreṇya King Bimbisāra, ruling both in Magadha and Aṅga (jointly) from his capital at Rājagṛiha (III. 436 ff), when the Master after having been perfectly enlightened, was staying at Uruvilva, at the foot of the Goatherd's (*Ajapāla's*) Banyan-tree on the banks of the Nairañjanā river, we find Uruvilvā-Kāśyapa being asked by the Lord as to why he had abandoned the sacred fire-sacrifice, austerities and penances. Kāśyapa said in reply that in a sacrifice[1] men speak of food and drink, and sweets of sensual pleasures and even women, but he knew of what is dross among attachments and he, therefore, took no delight in sacrifice and offering. Then on Buddha's enquiry as to what better thing in the world of devas and men on

[1] "अन्नानि पानानि अथो रसानि, कामां स्त्रियो चाभिवदंति यज्ञे।
एतं मलं ति उपधीषु ज्ञात्वा, तस्मान्न यज्ञे न हुते रमामि॥" III. 444

which his heart was set Kāśyapa replied saying[1] that when he had seen the Lord (Sage) calm, free from all substrate of re-birth, possessing nothing, rid of all attachments to existence, unchanging and not led by others, then he lost all delight in sacrifice and offering. He then repented that he previously did offer the fire-sacrifice and made his penance in vain and that he foolishly believed that man could be freed by fire-sacrifice and offerings and that he, being unable to see the perfect immovable state, had blindly followed after birth and death. He then added that the Lord having clearly revealed to him the pure, perfect and complete state, he had been able to escape from the round of birth and death. He also stated that so long he was found in the chains of wrong belief from which the Exalted One had now set him free. Many men, he said, were lost through performance of diverse austerities as they could not pass beyond doubt. The Brāhmaṇas and householders of Magadha then realized that Uruvilvā-Kāśyapa was really living the *brahmacharya* life under the recluse, Gautama Buddha.

Such repudiation of Vedic sacrifices which commenced so strongly from the time of Buddha later found an echo in some of the edicts of Aśoka in which the emperor showed abundant respect for the sanctity of life and raised a strong indictment against the slaughter of animals for sacrifice (*anālambha* of *prāṇas*). The *Mahāvastu* expressed such a repudiation in a story (II. 95 ff.) which briefly runs thus—there was a king named Suchandrima ruling at Siṁhapura (perhaps in the Punjab) and he was very friendly with his neighbouring king, named Subāhu, of Hastināpura. Suchandrima once prepared for the performance of a great sacrifice (*mahāyajña*) in which he wanted to offer every kind of animal, living on land and in water. At his command the hunters and fishermen of his kingdom brought all sorts of living beings—the land animals being shut up in a large enclosure (*jajñavāṭa*) and the fishes confined in a tank. The king also managed to obtain a beautiful Kinnarī named Manoharā, daughter of Druma, the King of Kinnaras from the Kailāśa mount, caught by a hunter and brought to Siṁhapura, a city of Brāhmaṇas and put in the sacrificial enclosure. Invitation to the sacrifice was issued to king Subāhu of Hastināpura and several hundred other kings. King Subāhu sent to the sacrifice his only son, named Sudhanu, as his representative. This prince (Sudhanu) saw in the sacrificial enclosures many thousands of living beings, both land and water animals, as well as the Kinnarī, Manoharā. On the prince's asking for the reason of confining so many living beings in the sacrificial enclosure, king Suchandrima answered saying—"With these animals I shall perform a sacrifice and there will thus be plenty of solid and soft food" ("एतेहि यज्ञं यजिष्यामि, एतेन च प्रभूतेन खादनीय-भोजनीयेन"). Then follows a harsh criticism of sacrifice made by Sudhanu who sharply asked Suchandrima as to whether any good and profit would accrue from such a sacrifice which consists in slaughtering all those living beings. The Brāhmaṇic way of reply of king Suchandrima in praise of such a sacrifice was this[1]—"All these living beings that will be slaughtered in the sacrifice will attain heaven. As regards myself I shall be reborn in heaven as many times as are equal to the number of the slaughtered animals." Prince Sudhanu replied in a Buddhistic mood saying[2] thus—"Your Majesty, this is not so, this is a wrong view (*mithyā-dṛishṭi*) for, *ahiṁsā* (not to cause harm or injury) is the highest rule. To take life is not *dharma*, but to abstain from taking life is *dharma*. . . Wrong belief is not *dharma*, but right belief is *dharma*." The Prince then added saying—"Your Majesty, those who take to the path of the ten right actions (*kuśala-karma*) are re-born in heaven. In the matter (of the great sacrifice), the path followed by your Majesty is not the path to heaven, but it is the path that leads to hell." Suchandrima, the other kings and the great mass of people present in the function were pleased to hear this exposition of the *dharma* by prince Sudhanu. The result was that the king of Siṁhapura let out all the living beings—both the land and water animals. Such was the Buddhist diatribe against sacrifices in the *Mahāvastu*. As instructed by prince Sudhanu, king Suchandrima of Siṁhapura offered an unimpeded and flawless sacrifice in which thousands of Śramaṇas, Brāhmaṇas, poor people and supplicants were fully given food and drink and were clothed in good garments. Doing so he proved that such kind of service was the proper sacrifice (or *yajña*).

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[1] "दृष्ट्वा मुनिं शान्तमनुपधिकं, अकिंचनं सर्वभवेष्वसक्तं।
अनन्यथाभावमनन्यनेयं, तस्मान्न यष्टे न हुते रमामि" III. 445.

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[1] "एते यत्तका प्राणजाती अत्र यज्ञे हनिष्यन्ति सर्वे स्वर्गं गमिष्यन्ति।
अहं च यत्तका एते प्राणा एत्थ यज्ञे हनिष्यन्ति तत्तकां वारां स्वर्गे उपपद्यामि"
II. 99.

[2] महाराज न एवं एतं, मिथ्यादृष्टि एषा, अहिंसा परमं धर्मं। प्राणातिपातो अधर्मो, प्राणातिपातवैरमणो धर्मो . . . . मिथ्यादृष्टि अधर्मो सम्यग्दृष्टि धर्मो . . . . दशहि कुशलेहि कर्मपथेहि समन्वागताः सत्वा स्वर्गेषूपपद्यन्ति। तदेवं महाराजेन न एष स्वर्गाणां पथो गृहीतो, नरकेषु गमनाय एष पथो गृहीतो" II. 99.

THE ORDINATION OF ŚĀRĪPUTRA AND MAUDGALYĀYANA

The most important topic of the conversion of Śārīputra and Maudgalyāyana, as described and discussed in the *Mahāvastu* which also contains the stories of many other ordinations, is related here for a clear knowledge of the processes of such a ceremony held by the early Buddhists. The Buddha, whose missionary career was just begun, was living, after his return from Banaras, in the precincts of the Magadhan capital, Rājagṛiha. The conversion story of these two great disciples of the Buddha, as depicted in the Pali book, differs to some extent from the one told in the *Mahāvastu* in certain details. In the Nālandā-grāmaka, a very prosperous and developed village, situated within half a *yojana* from Rājagṛiha, there lived a very rich Brāhmaṇa who had a beautiful and charming wife, named Śārī. She bore seven sons, the youngest of whom was named Upatishya, ever unmarried (अनाविष्ट) and a student of Vedic *mantras* in his preceptor's home (गुरुकुल). In another such rich, prosperous and populous village named Kolita-grāmaka situated also within half a *yojana* of Rājagṛiha there lived another Brāhmaṇa of great affluence, who had a son named Kolita, very pure, learned skilful and intelligent. He also read Vedic scriptures in the same *gurukula* where they both had five hundred fellow-students. Upatishya and Kolita were the surnames of Śārīputra and Maudgalyāyana respectively. These two young Brāhmaṇas were very happy and close friends and they exchanged constant visits between their two native villages. Their teacher's name was Sañjayin (Vaiṛāṭīputra) belonging to the Parivrājaka sect. Once the two friends went to see the Giriyagrasamāja—the annual festival in which hundreds of shows, choruses, dancers, actors and drummers join in merriment. But as both Upatishya and Kolita had now acquired all the attributes entitling them for initation into the doctrine of all the previous Samyak-Saṁbuddhas (perfectly Enlightened Ones) and also attained power to understand the causes of all things and became fit for the performance of all Āryadharma injunctions in this their last birth ("आर्यधर्माणां आराधनाये चरमभविकाये हेतुप्रत्ययचारिका सत्वा"। III. 57), there arose, after seeing the sights in the festival and also the crowd of people assembled there, in the mind of Śārīputra (Upatishya) the conception of the impermanence of the world, this transient existence, and also in the mind of Maudgalyāyana (Kolita) the conception of all things being nothing but bones. In spite of his associate's request to Śārīputra that he should not feel sorry at this time of gladness and merriment in the *samāja*, Śārīputra replied saying that that was rather the time to live by *dharma*. Those people, according to him, were attached to worldly objects of enjoyment which are fleet and they, with their greedy desires unsatiated, forget that they will very soon have to depart from the world and be reduced to ashes. So he advocated to Maudgalyāyana that the course of renunciation was his desired objective. On hearing this said, Kolita promised to adopt the same path as his friend wanted to traverse, and he uttered a verse which states—"The way you prefer appeals to me also, and even death is more welcome to me by remaining in your company than life without yourself" ("या गती भवती इष्टा अस्माकमपि रोचते। त्वया सार्धं मृतं श्रेयं न च जीवितं त्वया विना" ॥ III. 59). So both of them proceeded to the grove of the Parivrājakas and received there from Sañjayin the vow of renunciation (*parivrājaka-pravrajyā*). Śārīputra was able to master all the lore of the Parivrājakas within one week since his *pravrajyā* and Maudgalyāyana did so within a fortnight. The two friends then discussed between themselves thus—"This *dharma* (of the Parivrājakas) cannot lead us to emancipation or cessation of all ills. So we should independently try to acquire *dharma-vinaya* (well-preached discipline of the *dharma*) that may conduce to the end of all miseries." They then stipulated between themselves that whoever of the two would first attain *dharma-vinaya* should communicate the same to the other, so that they would together renunciate the world by being initiated to Āryadharma-vinaya. They then entered the city of Rājagṛiha by different ways. At that time Lord Gautama was residing with a retinue of 6,500 *Bhikshus* in the Bamboo Grove at Kalandaka-nivāpa. Śārīputra beheld from a distance the venerable monk named Upasena (not Aśvajit as in Pali books) proceeding in search of food with his begging bowl, wearing his yellow robe. He felt highly contented in mind at the sight of the monk and considered this mendicant's wandering in renunciation as a blessed thing (III. 60). He asked Upasena saying thus—"Are you, venerable Sir, a teacher (*śāstā*) or a disciple (hearer, *srāvaka*)?" Forthwith came the reply—"I am a disciple". Śārīputra then enquired thus—"Would you kindly tell me as to what doctrine or tenet your own teacher follows, and what does he say to and instruct his disciples and whether his exhortations have spread far and wide?" Upasena wanted to tell Śārīputra only the real significant portion (*arthamātra*) of his Master's teaching, as he was himself a man of little learning (*alpaśruta*). The questioner also desired to know the spirit (*artha*) and not the form (*vyañjana*) of the teachings, because he and many others had long deceived themselves by merely un-meaning words of scriptural books. Upasena also told Śārīputra that his Master taught people about all *dharmas* or phenomena as depending on a Law of Causation and instructed them to abandon all desired objects ("प्रतीत्यसमुत्पन्नां धर्मां खल्वायुष्मन् शास्ता उपादाय प्रतिनिःसर्गं विज्ञपेति" III. 61). On hearing this, Śārīputra's mind at once became clear of all impurities and his pure spiritual eye opened up, and he at once attained *dharma*, threw off false views (*prahīṇa-dṛishṭi*), overcame all doubts (*tīrṇa-kāṁksha*), discontinued questionings (*vigata-kathaṁkatha*), came to possess an upright, kind and diligent mind (*ṛijuchitta*, *mṛiduchitta*, *karmaṇīyachitta*) and acquired proneness and aim towards *nirvāṇa*, the eternal blissful state (*nirvāṇa-pravaṇa*, *nirvāṇa-pragbhāra*). Upasena then directed Śārīputra towards Kalandaka-nivāpa at Veṇuvana where the Master was at that time residing and himself went on his alms-round in the city of Rājagṛiha. But Śārīputra went first to Maudgalyāyana who saw his associate coming towards him with a calm and serene countenance and who ejaculated saying "O you, Śārīputra, it appears you have attained *amṛita*, that immortal state of bliss, and also the path that leads to it (*amṛitamadhigataṁ amṛitagāminīcha mārgah* III. 61) and this is why you look so doubly bright and effulgent." "You are right in your guess; I have really attained *amṛita* and the path that leads to it. There has arisen the Light of the world (*Loka-pradyota*)"—thus replied Śārīputra. Maudgalyāyana then enquired from his associate about what the Teacher teaches. Śārīputra answered and said

"ये धर्मा हेतुप्रभवा हेतुन्तेषां तथागतो आह।
तेषां च यी निरोध एवंवादी महाश्रमणः" ॥ III. 62.

i.e., "The Tathāgata has proclaimed the cause and also the cessation of all things or phenomena which are born of causes. The Great Śramaṇa is the holder of such a doctrine." On hearing this uttered by his comrade, Maudgalyāyana also attained his spiritual eye (*dharma-chakshu*) and felt himself fit for the attainment of *nirvāṇa*. He was told also of the whereabouts of the Master. Maudgalyāyana wanted not to take leave of their former preceptor, Sañjayin, saying that they should go direct to the Master and not see any more Sañjayin with his corrupt view. But Śārīputra reminded his associate that they must see him before they proceed to live the religious life under Gautama, the Great Recluse, as their previous preceptor had done them a great service since through him they had given up the householders' life. So they both went to Sañjayin who requested them not to leave him, and the five hundred disciples of his, belonging to the Parivrājaka sect. But they told their former preceptor that they intended to take ordination from Lord Gautama who had witnessed directly what is called *dharma-vinaya* and propagated the same to all quarters. They, as seekers after true faith, could not disbelieve Him. To the extreme regret of Sañjayin his five hundred followers also left that sect and went away with Śārīputra and Maudgalyāyana. Buddha intuitively knew that they both were coming to Him with the five hundred wanderers and the Tathāgata declared that one of the two (meaning Śārīputra) would be the leading monk among the great intellectuals and the other (meaning Maudgalyāyana) the leading monk among those who possess supernatural powers ("एको अग्रो महाप्राज्ञानां अपरो अग्रो महर्द्धिकानाम्" III. 63).

Śārīputra saw Lord Buddha from a distance teaching the pure and perfect *dharma* to a large crowd, looking endowed with the eighteen special supernatural powers (*āveṇikas*), the ten powers (*balas*) and the four expertnesses (*vaiśāradyas*), with his faculties and mind controlled, a veritable second rising sun, a cynosure of all eyes, like one crossing over to the shore of emancipation and securing all bliss—a Śramaṇa beyond evil, a Brāhmaṇa, a Śrotriya (a learned man), and a *snātaka* (a student who has concluded his studies). Such was the glorified state in which the Lord was seen by Śārīputra. Then the great new-comers accompanied by the five hundred followers approached the Buddha and bowed their heads at his feet. Śārīputra addressed the Lord thus[1]—"O Ascetic, we have so long dwelt (as it were) in waters of the ocean, in caves of hills and in glades and wood. Through lack of sight of yourself in person, we have long lived among false heretics. O you, the great Caravan-leader, now having receded from the wrong path we have crossed over in faith to your way and having traversed the wilderness of worldly life have become wise and passionless and are no longer moved by attachment." Both Śārīputra and Maudgalyāyana then begged of Lord Sugata to admit them as recluses ("प्रव्राजेतु मां भगवानुपसंपादेतु मां सुगतो" III. 64-65) and ordain them. The Lord then ordained them both and the five hundred other Wanderers by uttering the formula of "Come, monks" ("एहिभिक्षुकाये आभाषे" III. 65) and also "Come, monks, live the religious life under the Tathāgata" ("एथ भिक्षवः चरथ तथागते ब्रह्मचर्यम्" III. 65). Then the miracle took place of all their marks—badge, emblem and sign of wanderers—having disappeared, and of the appearance of the three robes and bowls and their hair in its natural state of recluses; and their deportment then became so established as if they were all monks, ordained a hundred years. This is the special form of renunciation (*pravrajyā*), ordination (*upasampadā*) and entry into the monk's status (*bhikshu-bhāva*) of these two great men and their company of five hundred wanderers.

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[1] "उषितं सागरसलिले उषितं गिरिगह्नकाननवनेषु।
अदर्शनात् तुह्यं मुने उषिता स्म चिरं कुतीर्थेषु॥
कुमार्गा निवृत्ता पथे ते प्रसन्ना महासार्थवाह प्रतीर्णा।
तं संसारकान्तारमुत्तीर्य धीराः विरक्ता न रज्यन्ति भूयः"॥ III. 64

After this formal ordination Śārīputra put forward some metaphysical queries in reply to which the Master said that four *dhātus*, constituent parts of a being, are predicted about; they exist, disappear, and re-appear by a new birth. In reply to further queries the Lord said that *avidyā*, ignorance, *tṛishṇā*, desire or craving, and *karma*, action, are the causes of birth; *āyus*, time, *karma*, work, and *āhāra*, food, are the causes of existence. Disappearance or death is caused by the termination of time, the end of actions, and the elimination of food; a being's rebirth is caused by non-escape from ignorance, and by domination exercised by desire which leads actions to ripen. The cessation of rebirths takes place only when a being escapes from nescience, and succeeds in totally annihilating his desires.

The Master also explained to Śārīputra how pleasurable sensations are produced in the sense-organs by the so-called attractive appearance of object-forms. He again referred to the law of causation[1] as producing all phenomena which cause mental pleasure and happiness and which are then said to be born, to exist, to develop, and to become cognizable. But they are, according to him, all non-soul, nor do they partake of anything belonging to any soul; rather they are bereft of any soul, nor do they partake of anything belonging to any soul ; rather they are bereft of any soul nor anything belonging to any soul.

On hearing this discourse of the Master, the two great new converts and their followers became absolutely free from

[1] "ये शारिपुत्र धर्मा प्रतीत्य उत्पादयन्ति प्रीतिसुखसौमनस्यं इन्द्रियाणि च प्रीणयन्ति ते शारिपुत्र धर्मा जाता भूता संस्कृता वेदयिता प्रतीत्य समुत्पन्ना नैवात्मा नैवात्मनीया शून्या आत्मेन वा आत्मनीयेन वा"। III. 66

all miseries, i.e., sins, passions and desires (*āśravas*). Maudgalyāyana acquired within a week of his ordination all supernatural powers (*ṛiddhibalatā* and *ṛiddhivaśitā*) and the four kinds of logical dexterities (*pratisaṁvidā*) i.e., expertness in the Buddhist theory and practice, etymology, and dialectics. Śārīputra also acquired within a fortnight of his ordination, the power of intuitive knowledge (*abhijñā*), perfection of wisdom (*prajñā-pāramitā*) and the four logical dexterities. Maudgalyāyana became able to realize the three knowledges (*vidyās*), obtained a divine eye (*divyaṁ chakshuḥ*) and began to recollect his former lives (*purvanivāsa*) and attained destruction of all passions and desires (*āśrava-kshaya*). Such is the tradition and the two saints and their followers, after ordination by the Buddha, succeeded in crossing over the deep forest of birth, decay, death and re-birth. A few words may be said in this connection about the ordination of Mahā-Kāśyapa. Once upon a time Ānanda, the sage of Videha, the favourite disciple of the Lord, who was regarded by all monks and nuns as the Lord's servitor, attendant and recipient of all right rules of conduct direct from the Lord, was touring Magadha accompanied by a large body of five hundred monks and stayed in the Bamboo Grove at Kalandakanivāpa, some of whom betrayed their frailty and renounced Ānanda's teaching. This conduct of the renouncers came to the notice of Mahā-Kāśyapa who sought leave of Ānanda to ask him the question as to why the Lord prohibited *śrāvakas* (disciples) from eating in a crowd (*gaṇa-bhojana*) and prescribed that they should eat in groups of three (*trika-bhojana*). Ānanda replied that he and others had come from far away, so he himself was anxious to ask him the same question for its clear interpretation. Mahā-Kāśyapa replied that the Tathāgata made such prohibition for two reasons—the safety of families and breaking of cliques of wicked men—thus avoiding mischief of dispute, wrangling, squabbling and quarrelling in the *Saṅgha*. In course of this talk between the two great *theras*, Mahā-Kāśyapa made a pungent remark that Ānanda acted like a youngster, knowing no moderation and like destroying a good harvest he went the rounds of families for alms along with such a big body of young and fresh troops of fellow-students, newly ordained, having no guard on the doors of their senses, not vigilant and irresponsible. Ānanda resented the remark by saying that there were grey hairs growing on his head and yet Mahā-Kāśyapa thought it fit to address him as to a youngster. At that time a nun, Sthūlanandā by name, championed Ānanda against Mahā-Kāśyapa who, she remarked, formerly belonged to another sect. The sage told Ānanda that this sister nun spoke out of thoughtlessness and that Ānanda begged pardon of the sage, for womankind was witless, and lacking in knowledge of proper occasion to speak in that way. Mahā-Kāśyapa then reminded Ānanda in protest that he never acknowledged before embracing religious life any master outside of and other than Lord Tathāgata the perfect Buddha and he referred to his renouncing his home with its rich material properties of high earthly value which he regarded as defilements. He said, moreover, that he left home taking only one patched cotton cloak with him and wandered out in quest of Arhans in the world and at that time there was no other Arhan anywhere except the perfect Buddha and after one year of his leaving home he saw the Lord in Rājagṛiha at Bahuputraka shrine (*chetiya*) and the thought crossed his mind that he was looking on the Lord who was all seeing, all-knowing and possessed of absolute perfect knowledge. Then he told Ānanda the short story of his own ordination by the Buddha. He said that approaching the Lord in reverence he addressed him in these words—"Lord, you are my master and I am your disciple, Sugata." The Lord, he spoke to Ānanda, said to him thus in reply—"O Kāśyapa, I am your master and you are my disciple." Then the Tathāgata gave Mahā-Kāśyapa an exhortation on how to train himself to abide by the restraint of the disciplinary rules, pasturing in the field of good conduct and discerning the peril of the minutest faults and also adopting and practising the moral precepts and living a life of complete purity in thought, speech and act. The Lord in this exhortation referred to the fact of the body being not one that is permanently assembled. He also asked Mahā-Kāśyapa to train himself in discerning of the uprising and of the cession of the five *skandhas* on which existence thrives and gave him a lesson on the *pratītya-samutpāda* doctrine. Mahā-Kāśyapa then told the venerable

Ānanda that after he had been given the exhortation, he was a probationer student (*śaiksha*) for eight days only having yet to act before attainment of perfection, but on the ninth day he attained perfect knowledge. Then he reported to Ānanda the exchange of the patched cotton under-robe of his with the under-robe of hempen rags of the Tathāgata. Thus did he become a genuine son of the Lord, born of *dharma* created by *dharma*, an heir as to *dharma* and not as to the flesh. His three knowledges, his six super-knowledges and mastery of the powers could no longer be hidden. After this the five hundred monks in Ānanda's charge harboured no more doubt or mistrust on Mahā-Kāśyapa to whom their obedience became greater and better than before. The depraved nun Sthūlanandā remained, however, un-reconciled and she uncovered herself before Mahā-Kāśyapa and died immediately and on account of her hard-heartedness against the sage was reborn in a great hell—such was the tradition.

THE PRINCIPLES OF TEN BHŪMIS

After the demise of the Buddha Mahā-Kāśyapa became anxious to see that Buddha's religion continues in full glory and that all *bhikshus* act upto the behests of the Buddha. At such a time Kāśyapa feared that a schism may arise and sectarians and heretics might harm the peerless doctrine and so he advised them to try to collect the teachings of the Master (संकलिये शासनं शास्तुः, I. 70) and to recite[1] the Sugata's excellent teaching without a break and in perfect unison so that the recital, well and truly made, may long have bright renown among men and gods. Kāśyapa wanted the assembly to remove all doubts about the Master's teaching. He asked the venerable Kātyāyana to speak of the conduct and career of great-hearted kings of *dharma*. In course of his reply regarding the careers of all-seeing Buddhas of unsullied conduct, Kātyāyana told Kāśyapa of the famous *Daśabhūmi* principles now advocated in the *Mahāvastu* (I. 76 ff). The word *bhūmi* literally means 'earth', or ground.

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[1] "तेन अप्रतिहताः सुसमग्राः, गायथा सूगतशासनमग्र्यं ।
यथ इदं सुपरिगीत यथार्थं, चिरतरं नरमरुषु विरोचे ॥" I. 70

The *Mahāvastu* itself defines it by saying (I. 77) that every existence of the Bodhisattvas is shortly defined as an earth, whence has come the name[1] *bhūmi*. As a matter of fact these *bhūmis* are the various stages of development of the qualities of a Bodhisattva towards which he progressively advances. He gradually ascends from one to the next, upto the last or the tenth stage. The *Mahāvastu* gives a very detailed description of these stages which cannot be recounted here. Kātyāyana said to Kāśyapa that it was not possible to measure the *bhūmis* of Bodhisattvas and they last through so many or even infinite *kalpas*. However, the treatise names (I. 76) the different *bhūmis* thus — the first being called *dūrārohā* (difficult to ascend), the second *baddhamānā* (fastening), the third (*pushpamaṇḍitā* (adorned with flowers), the fourth *ruchirā* (fascinating), the fifth *cittavistārā* (expanding the mind or heart), the sixth *rūpavatī* (lovely), the seventh *durjayā* (hard to conquer), the eighth *janmanideśa* (ascertaining the birth), the ninth deriving its name from *yauvarājya* (anointment or installation as Crown Prince) and the tenth from *abhisheka* (coronation). The transitions from *bhūmi* to *bhūmi* are dealt with fully. The eight rules of conduct (*samudāchārā*) for Bodhisattvas when they live in the first *bhūmi* or stage are these (1) liberality (*tyāga*), (2) compassion (*karuṇā*); (3) indefatigability (*aparikheda*), (4) want of pride i.e., humility (*amāna*), (5) study of all the scriptures (*sarvaśāstrādhyāyitā*), (6) heroism (*vikrama*), (7) asking for permission or approval of people (*lokānujñā*) and (8) fortitude (*dhṛiti*). The Bodhisattvas, in this stage, conceive the idea of attainment of perfect wisdom by accumulation of merits, the roots of goodness. Then with regard to the second *bhūmi*, the dispositions of Bodhisattvas are related to Kāśyapa by Mahā-Kātyāyana saying that Bodhisattvas in the second *bhūmi* feel undoubtedly an aversion to all forms of existence and that herein their dispositions are good (*kalyāṇādhyāśaya*), amiable (*snigdha*), sweet (*madhura*), keen (*tīkshṇa*), bountiful (*vipula*), charming (*vichitra*), profound (*gambhīra*), not losing control (*aparyādinna*), imperturbable (*anupahata*), extraordinary (*asādhāraṇa*), lofty (*unnata*), noble

[1] "सर्वं संसारो वोधिसत्वानां खण्डसंज्ञया भूमिरिति परिकल्पितं तेन भूमिरिति स्मृता"। I. 77

i.e., not miserable (*akṛipaṇa*), resolute (*anivarta*), sincere (*akṛitrima*), pure (*śuddha*), steadfast (*dṛiḍha*), independent or free from others' influence (*svabhāva*), contented (*tṛipta*), intent on the (foremost) Person (*pudgala*) and infinite (*ananta*). Their lapses in this *bhūmi* are also related, and on account of these lapses they fail to reach the third stage.

Then Mahā-Kātyāyana related to Mahā-Kāśyapa the state of heart existing in Bodhisattvas as they ascend the third stage from the second. He said that their stage of mind becomes herein set on renunciation. They want to make all creatures happy and they do this not for their own well-being, not even for the sake of enlightenment; and they want to buy one verse of a wise saying even with the sacrifice of wives and children. In order to qualify themselves for attaining the fourth *bhūmi* the Bodhisattvas do not create schisms in the *saṅgha*, nor do they raze *stūpas* to the ground, nor do they harbour any evil thoughts against a Tathāgata. They, moreover, are not cast down by adversity, nor elated by prosperity Then Mahā-Kātyāyana said to Mahā-Kāśyapa during reply to queries that such Bodhisattvas who are not liable to lapse in any way, for any reason, at any time, or by any chance, in their course to the seven other *bhūmis*, never pass into a hell nor are reborn in any brute state, but they are capable of becoming Brahmās, Indras, Nāga kings, universal kings (*chakravartins*), chief counsellors, chief heads of guilds, leaders, royal sons etc. Thus do they bring their career to maturity. In this the fourth *bhūmi* the Bodhisattvas evolve the idea of enlightenment.

Then the *Mahāvastu* expounds and illustrates the merits and demerits of Bodhisattvas in the fifth *bhūmi*. Herein are mentioned the names of some of the Buddhas worshipped by the Lord Gautama when he was in the fifth *bhūmi* and several other universal kings of good merit at their times. In this connexion we have the names of the Buddhas as (1) Yaśavrata worshipped by the present Gautama Buddha born as a merchant's son, (2) Sudarśana worshipped by the universal King Dharaṇīdhara, (3) Nareśvara worshipped by the universal King Aparājita, (4) Suprabha worshipped by a minister named Vijaya, (5) Tathāgata Ratanaparvata worshipped by a universal King Achyuta, (6) the perfect

Buddha Kaṇakaparvata worshipped by the universal King, Priyadarśana, (7) Lord Pushpadanta worshipped by a king named Durjaya, (8) a Buddha named Lalitavikrama worshipped by King Chaturaṅgabala, (9) Lord Mahāyaśas worshipped by King Mṛigapatīśvara, and (10) Jina Ratanachūḍa worshipped by a universal king named Maṇivishāṇa. These kings and others offered great gifts to these Jinas and made their vows to them praying that they might themselves become perfect Buddhas and safely lead across all men fallen into the great flood of recurrent births and may live in peace by dragging their minds from all sorts of attachments ("उच्छिन्नमोहजालो प्रसन्नचित्तो असंगप्रतिभानो। तारेय्य सर्वजनतां संसारमोहार्णवे पतितां"॥ I. 119).

Regarding questions of the Buddha-field and *upakshetras* with reference to dispositions in the sixth *bhūmi*, Mahā-Kātyāyana said that many fields are not empty of Buddhas and certain others are empty. Buddhas winning perfect knowledge and mindful of welfare of all beings appear very rarely. It is the nature of Buddhas to achieve the whole difficult task of a Buddha, set before him. Sometimes only two Tathāgatas could appear, if one Buddha is not equal to the conditions of Buddhahood. Otherwise no two valiant men are born in one and the same field, as men reject the notion of the inadequate nature of the great seers ("तं चासमर्थसद्भावं वर्जयन्ति महर्षिणां। तस्माद् दुवे न जायन्ते एकक्षेत्रे नरर्षभौ॥" I. 122). Buddhas never pass away without fulfilling the Buddha-tasks. Mahā-Kātyāyana then revealed the Buddha-fields in the eastern, southern, western and northern quarters of the world and in its nadir and zenith where Buddhas of various names respectively preach *dharma*. He also replied to the query of Mahā-Kāśyapa as to whether there was possibility of all beings being released by the preaching of so many Buddhas, saying that there cannot be a limit to the countless beings listening to the teaching of the Buddhas, as the average worldlings were numerous, rather more numerous than the numerous worlds

Lastly, it was said in the book that as the Bodhisattvas in the sixth *bhūmi* sometimes envy those who have won cessation of perception and feeling, they lapse, and cannot advance towards the seventh *bhūmi* or stage.

As the Bodhisattvas advance to the seventh *bhūmi* their mind is bent on self-control. Mahā-Kātyāyana spoke to Mahā-Kāśyapa that the Bodhisattvas preach and commend abstention from killing. After passing through the seven *bhūmis* they show pity to those beings who bemoan their lot, apply themselves to the practice of morality, renounce their kingdoms and powers and go out of home to a homeless condition. In this context Kātyāyana recited some stories regarding Gautama Buddha in his previous lives and illustrated some of his supreme virtues and proved the wicked actions of Devadatta. Such good and difficult acts of body, thought and speech are performed by Bodhisattvas. Of the manifold good qualities they possess, we find mention, in the *Mahāvastu*, of mastery over *karma*, resoluteness, endurance, trustworthiness, uprightness and sincerity. They are generous, firm, gentle, tender, patient, tranquil of heart, brilliantly intelligent, gifted with insight, not given to gratification of sensual pleasures, pure in conduct, full of civility to elderly people, and of persuasive speech, ready to help people in distress, equal in adversity and prosperity, and skilful in uprooting the vices of men. They are anxious to win the sphere of power of a Buddha, skilled in teaching, loving even their enemies. They possess the knowledge of correct and faulty conclusions. Then we find a very beautiful and logical view that all great men working for the benefit and welfare of humanity are so many Bodhisattvas, for the *Mahāvastu* writes that all charms and medicines were discovered by Bodhisattvas, all remedies current in the world were prescribed by them, all sciences devoted to the ascertainment of truth were developed by them, all mathematical calculations and forms of writing in different scripts were introduced by them, and all the mines of gold, silver, copper, lead, precious metals and gems were revealed by them. In short, all expedients that exist for the service of men were their inventions. Mahā-Kātyāyana lastly said that as Bodhisattvas advance from the seventh to the eighth *bhūmi* their hearts become set on great compassion. Then the *Mahāvastu* enumerates the hundreds of names of the previous powerful, renowned and Aryan Buddhas under whom Śākyamuni Buddha acquired the root of merit while he advanced from the first up to the seventh *bhūmi.* Then the book mentions again hundreds of the host of Aryan Buddhas in the ninth *bhūmi.* Mahā-Kātyāyana then told Mahā-Kāśyapa regarding those Bodhisattvas who passed through the ninth *bhūmi* and encompassed the tenth after having won to the Tushita-*bhavana* and thence descending to a mother's womb to lead his last human extraordinary existence, not shared by Pratyeka-Buddhas, nor by saints, nor by disciples, nor by average people. The book states how they become conceived in mother's womb, without the intercourse of a father and a mother, but by their own merit only ("स्वगुणनिर्वुत्ता उपपादुका भवन्ति" I. 145). Description is obtained in the book of such great men's wonderful conception, their emergence from mother's womb and their attendance by gods. Mahā-Kāśyapa was told also that these Bodhisattvas are also to practise all the arts of mankind without any help from teachers and they do not indulge in the pleasures of sense. In answer to the former's query as to how Rāhula was born, the latter replied saying that passing away from Tushita heaven he came down into the womb of his mother Yaśodharā, the Kshatriya maiden ("अथ राहुल स्तुषितकायाच् च्यवित्वा मातुः यशोधरायाः क्षत्रियकन्यायाः कुक्षिमवतीर्ण इति। एव अनुश्रूयते यते भो धुतधर्मधर"।" I. 153). Then the retirement from the world of the Buddhas was narrated and Mahā-Kātyāyana referred to Bodhisattva Gautama's resolve not to enter again the fair city of Kapilavastu before he has passed beyond the power of old age and death ("न तं पुनरहं प्रवेक्ष्यमप्राप्य जरामरणपारमिति" I. 157). This is the brief description of the *ten bhūmis* in the *Mahāvastu.*

PLURALITY OF BUDDHAS

Now I shall give a brief note on the cult of plurality of Buddhas prevalent in society during the period of the *Mahāvastu.* The Buddhists, like the Brāhmaṇic Hindus, believed deeply in re-births (*janmāntaravāda*); so innumerable and countless Buddhas are conceived to have appeared in the previous *kalpas*, according to Buddhist scriptures, specially in the Mahāyāna literature. Gautama Buddha is himself mentioned as having adored, through immeasurable *kalpas* in his previous births, countless Tathāgatas, Arhans and even perfect Buddhas. The Mahāyāna admits a belief in the existence of many Buddhas. In some Pali books we get reference to only seven Buddhas including Gautama Buddha, and in other later Pali books we learn of twenty-four Buddhas. In this cult we feel that a conception of an eternal Buddha runs through such ideas. In the *Mahāvastu*, however, we have a discourse (III. 224 ff) called *Bahu-Buddha-sūtra* wherein we find these Buddhas described as gentle-hearted (*mṛidu-chitta*), loving-hearted (*maitra-chitta*), controlled-hearted (*dānta-chitta*), calm-hearted (*śānta-chitta*), free-hearted (*mukta-chitta*), pure-hearted (*śuddha-chitta*), firm-hearted (*sthita-chitta*), unattached-hearted (*asaṅga-chitta*) and so on; and they are also the best of Brāhmaṇas (*Brāhmaṇottama*), nobles or Kshatriyas, versed in the Vedas (*Vedapāraga*) and what is more important they are speakers in an unequivocal manner (*aviparītavādins*), speaking what is not false (*avitathavādins*) and ever speaking what is not untrue (*ananyathāvādins*). We know that Gautama Buddha called himself Tathāgata i.e., one who has attained the *tathā* or truth or reality. According to the *Mahāvastu* Buddha, while once staying at Śrāvastī, told Ānanda that he sat there for three months abiding in the states of former Tathāgatas (*purima-Tathāgatas*), Arhans (Arhats) and perfect Buddhas (*samyak-saṁbuddhas*). There are several traditional lists of a legion of former Buddhas—each of whom proclaimed the next one. Gautama Buddha himself was proclaimed by the previous Buddha, Kāśyapa. Of course, the names of the famous ones viz., Vipaśyin, Śikhi, Viśvabhū, Krakuchchhanda, Konākamuṇi, Kāśyapa and Śākyamuṇi all occur therein. You are all aware that in the succession of these Buddhas, the last Buddha, as proclaimed by Lord Śākyamuṇi, will be Maitreya. This future (*anāgata*) Buddha will also be mighty in power, and the leader of a host of seers and a teacher of seventy hundred *koṭis* of men ("एतेषां बुद्धानां परंपराये, मैत्रेयो पश्चिमको भविष्यति। महानुभावो ऋषिसंघनायको, विनेष्यति कोटिशतानि सप्तति" ॥ III. 240). Being asked by Ānanda regarding the root of Buddha's shining performances in the world of gods and men, the Lord replied by saying that it is he who planted in all great former Buddhas the root of virtue (*kuśalamūla*) and rendered them service, and so they became mighty in power, infinite in wisdom and famous in the world. He also said that his power also prevailed because he honoured these previous sublime Buddhas and he on that account attained glory and fame shining in the worlds of men, *devas* and Brahmā. In rapture Ānanda declared that he had now come to comprehend the sphere of these many Buddhas which the Lord said as being beyond thought, beyond compare and beyond measure. Buddha himself further said in this connection that as a *paramārthadarśin* (knowing the highest truth or good) he was equal and peer of the previous Buddhas.

In this context we may note a strange fact learnt from the *Mahāvastu* also, that regarding the birth (*jāti*) of the Buddhas, they are mentioned as all being born either in the Brāhmaṇa or the Kshatriya family. Buddha himself said that he was born in the Kshatriya family of Ikshvāku (a kinsman of the *āditya*, the sun); and the future Buddha, he declared, would be born in a very rich and prosperous Brāhmaṇa family, but he would renounce his plentiful pleasures of the world and accept religious life. He referred in passing that Dīpaṅkara Buddha, Vipaśyin, Śikhi and Viśvabhū were born in Kshatriya families and Krakuchchhanda, Konākamuṇi and Kāśyapa in Brāhmaṇa families. The *Mahāvastu* recounts declaring thus:—"These supreme persons arise in one of two kinds of families—either in a family of the Kshatriya or in one of Brāhmaṇa. When the Kshatriyas are reputed as foremost in the world, the Buddhas, the supreme men, appear in the family of the Kshatriyas, and when the Brāhmaṇas are reputed for their worth in the world they, the great seers, are born in the Brāhmaṇa families" ("द्विहिमेव ते कुलेहि उत्षद्यन्ति नरोत्तमाः। क्षत्रियकुले च प्रथमं अथवापि ब्रामणकुले ॥ यदाहि अग्रा आख्याता लोकस्मिं भोन्ति क्षत्रिया। तदा क्षत्रियकुले बुद्धा उत्पद्यत्ति नरोत्तमाः॥ यदा तु गुणसंख्याता लोकस्मिं भोत्ति ब्राह्मणाः॥ तदा ब्राह्मणकुले बुद्धा उत्पद्यत्ति महर्षिणः॥" III. 247-248).

As to the excellent traits in the character of all Buddhas, the Lord said that energy (*vīrya*) is the instrument of enlightenment and that they progressed because of their virtues of renunciation (*prahāna*), charity (*dāna*), self-control (*dama*) and restraint (*saṁyama*). He himself attained enlightenment in the ninety-first *kalpa* since his efforts. All Buddhas belauded the virtues of liberality (*dāna*), morality (*śīla*) and wisdom (*prajñā*). The past Buddhas were caravan-leaders of *dharma* and they stifled their passions, were revered and honoured and were self-dependent.

PRATĪTYASAMUTPĀDA, THE CHATURĀRYASATYA AND THE MADHYAMĀ PRAṬIPADĀ

I refrain from discussing fully the famous and well-known Buddhist formula of *pratītyasamutpāda* (प्रतीत्यसमुत्पाद) as treated in the *Mahāvastu*, specially in the *Māra-vijaya* episode as described in the second *Avalokita-sūtra* (II. 293 ff). You all know that in the allegorical story of Gautama's victory over Evil—the Māra—the Bodhisattva, struck the earth with his right hand and the whole earth resounded and a panic was produced and Māra's ill-starred army fled away. The Boddhisattva without any tremor shone like the Sun. He then declared (according to the *Mahāvastu*) the famous doctrine of the *Pratītyasamutpāda* i.e. the chain of causes and effects, or in the words, the law of happening by way of a cause, or the law of origination of a thing or phenomenon depending on another as its cause. He expressed the formula thus:—

"This is ill or misery; this is the arising of ill; this is the cessation of ill; and there is the Way (meaning the *Majjhima-paṭipadā*, the Middle Path, the *Ashṭāṅgika-mārga*). When *this* exists, *that* appears, when *this* is destroyed, *that* disappears or ceases to be". ("इदं च दुःखं अयं च समुदयः, तथा निरोधो अथ मार्गश्रेष्ठो। इमस्मिं सन्ते इमो प्रादूर्भोति इमस्मिं नष्टे इदमस्तमेति"॥ II. 345).

Then the Bodhisattva further developed the idea of the chain of cause and effect in these words:—'From ignorance (अविद्या) arises the make-up (संस्कार) of coming-to-be, which again causes consciousness (विज्ञान) and from this is born individuality (नामरूप). This individuality gives rise to the six-fold faculties of the senses (षड़ायतन) which again results in contact (स्पर्श). This contact causes the rise of feelings (वेदना) which, in its turn, produces craving (तृष्णा), which itself causes grasping (उपादान,). This grasping becomes the cause of one's passing from life to life (भव) and thence comes birth (जाति), old age, death and disease and from these arise all kinds of sorrow, lamentations, troubles, ills and despair (दूःख). (II. 346).

After His investigation into the *dharma* (nature) of causation, the cessation (निरोध) of those things became clear to His omniscience. Understanding their nature to be such, the Bodhisattva attained the peerless, noble and supreme enlightenment[1].

In this treatise (the *Mahāvastu*) which is so full of Buddhist ethical principles, we get reference to, in addition to the four Aryan truths (चतुरार्यसत्य,), the *Ārya-ashṭāṅgika mārga* or the *madhymā pratipadā*, the Middle Path (III. 331) in the discourse on the rolling of the wheel. It is the Aryan eightfold Way (आर्याष्टांगिका), that is to say, right belief (सम्यग्दृष्टिः), right purpose or resolve (सम्यक्संकल्पः), right endeavour (सम्यग्व्यायामः), right action (सम्यक्कर्मः), right living or occupation (सम्यगाजीवः), right speech (सम्यग्वा), right mindfulness (सम्यक्स्मृतिः,) and right concentration (सम्यक्समाधिः). These form the middle course awakened to by the Tathāgata in his Aryan *dharma* and discipline (विनय) and this course when adopted confers insight (चक्षुकरणिया), conduces to calm (उपसमसंवर्तनिका), to disgust with the world (निर्विदाये), to passionlessness (विरागाये), to cessation (निरोधाये), to the state of a recluse (श्रामण्याये), to enlightenment (संबोधाये), and to *nirvāṇa* (निर्वाणाये). Detailing out these topics here is out of the question.

BUDDHA-PŪJĀ (WORSHIP OF THE BUDDHA) PREVALENT IN THE TIME OF THE MAHĀVASTU

The *Mahāvastu* puts the following verses (II. 362) in the mouth of Lord Buddha about the efficacy of the worship of the Buddha:—

[1] “अविद्या हेतु भवसंस्कृतस्य, तं प्रत्ययं भवति जाननाय।
विज्ञानहेतु भवे नामरूपं, प्रत्ययं च तं भवति षडिन्द्रियस्य ॥
षडिन्द्रियं भवति तथ स्पर्शजातं, स्पर्शे च हेतु भवे वेदनानां।
संवेदयन्तो जायति तृष्णालु, तृष्णाप्रत्ययं भवति उपादानं ॥
उपादानहेतुं भवं संस्मरन्ति, जातिजरामरणं तथैव व्याधिः।
शोका च भोन्ति परिदेवितानि, आयासा (?) भोन्ति दुःखदौर्मनस्यं ॥
प्रतीत्यधर्मं प्रविचितो बोधिसत्वोः, निरोधस्तेषामविकलि सर्वज्ञाने।
तेषां च एवं प्रकृति पश्यमानो, अतुल्यं प्राप्तो वरमग्रबोधिं॥

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"बोधाय चित्तं नमेत्वा हिताय सर्वप्राणिनां।
यस् स्तूपं लोकनाथस्य करोति अभिप्रदक्षिणं ॥
स्मृतीमन्तो मतीमन्तो पुण्यवन्तो विशारदो।
भोति सर्वत्र जातिषु चरन्तो बोधिचारिकां" ॥

'The person (called a son of the Buddha) who, having turned his thoughts for attainment of enlightenment (only) for the sake of welfare of all living beings, goes round (saluting reverentially) a tope of the Saviour of the world, becomes, in all places in all his lives, mindful, thoughtful, virtuous and assured as he fares on the way to enlightenment'. It is also said that such beings shall themselves become saviours of the world, all-seeing with passions stifled and lusts destroyed ("सर्वे च सत्वा सियु लोकनाथा, समन्तचक्षु हतरजनिष्क्लेशा" II. 373), and they are destined to become peerless Buddhas in the world after having for a long time pursued the good in their various lives ("चरित्वार्थं सुचिरं चारिकासु, सो वुद्धो लोके भवति अतुल्यो" II. 373). Then we find in this book (in the *Avalokita-sūtra*) an enumeration of the simple methods of *Buddha-pūjā*, which, if resorted to with devotion, will lead to accumulation of incalculable merits as a result of which they will never become confounded by appearances and will be able to perceive the unsubstantiality or soullessness and emptiness or non-existence of all *dharmas* (the things or appearances in the objective world).

Briefly speaking, the methods are the following:—

(1) salutation of a tope and monuments erected in the Buddha's honour;
(2) placing of a garland or a festoon of fine silk on a tope or a monument containing the relics of the Buddha;
(3) offering of flowers, burning a pinch of incense in Buddhist shrines;
(4) putting a flag on the Lord's shrines;
(5) holding a single light over the tope;
(6) placing thereon a sun-shade;
(7) honouring the Buddha by playing on instruments of music in shrines;
(8) putting adornments on the shrines;
(9) cleansing the topes and washing away dust therein;
(10) offering of dried cow-dung cakes in shrines for preparing fire therein;

(11) offering even a drop of oil at a tope;
(12) taking bricks and carrying them to shrines;
(13) anointing shrines with perfumes;
(14) placing a necklace of gems on them;
(15) giving one trustful thought to the Buddha;
(16) bringing net-work coverings to shrines;
(17) taking and throwing away faded flowers from shrines;
(18) sprinkling of sandal-wood powder thereon;
(19) making a reverential bow before a tope;
(20) offering of a bowl in Buddha's name for his acceptance; and,
(21) forming a resolution in mind that they (these worshippers) may set free the un-free and in their own emancipated state may become an eye to the blind and dispel their gloom and darkness, and may lead across the beings who have not crossed, may fare without a tremor through the whole world, and release those in misery.

We are told that such benefactors and worshippers of the *Buddha*, the *Dharma* and the *Saṅgha* never feel troubled by any ills of the world and they may become distinguished wealthy merchants, householders posseessing wonderful treasures, king's sons, ministers and even powerful universal rulers.

THE PRATYEKA-BUDDHAS

The concept of the Pratyeka-Buddhas is found to have developed to good extent during the period represented by the *Mahāvastu*. These are self-controlled and self-possessed ascetics who attain enlightenment without proclaiming it to the world. In Buddhist dogmatics the Pratyeka-Buddhas attain enlightenment for themselves by themselves without the aid of any teachers and they do not even propose to act as teachers to others. They arise whenever Buddhas do not appear in the world (III. 27). These individually enlightened saintly persons may be countless. They are splendid in their silence, possessing great power, remaining almost in loneliness, like the rhinoceros, taming and calming only their own selves and passing away almost finally after winning enlightenment. They, however, do not possess the five eyes, viz. the eye of the flesh (मांसचक्षु), the deva eye (दिव्यचक्षु), the eye of wisdom (प्रज्ञाचक्षु), the eye of dharma (धर्मचक्षु), and the eye of a Buddha (वुद्धचक्षु), which all can only be possessed by the Buddhas (I. 158). They function to constitute a field for winning merit. They are objects of receiving offerings from other people. Their deportment and demeanour are described in the *Mahāvastu* in many a context. They have courteous manner with regard to their approach and leave, they look forward and around, they extend and withdraw their hands and they carry with them their cloak, bowl and robes. They look like *nāgas* (elephants). They appear to have accomplished their task. Their organs of sense are turned inwards and their mind is not turned outwards. They do not look in any way disturbed, because of their achievement of harmony with the *dharma*. They never look forward beyond a plough's length. Such was their auspicious deportment.

In this connection we may compare the deportment and demeanour of the Buddha which appeared first to Śārīputra, when he saw the Lord from a distance as described in the *Mahāvastu* (III. 63-64).

A NEW JĀTAKA (THE ANAṄGAṆA JĀTAKA)

In my first lecture it was said that the *Māhāvastu* also contains some new Jātaka stories, which are not found included in the Pali Jātaka stories. Here I shall briefly place before you a sample of such a new Jātaka (II. 271-276), called *Anaṅgaṇa-Jātaka*. The monks asked Lord Buddha of the great prosperity and uncommon wealth possessed by the householder, Jyotishka, who was admitted into the Order and ordained, and then became fully free from all lusts. The Buddha replied saying that there was, many *kalpas* ago, a king named Bandhuma ruling from his capital Bandhumatī. He was the father of the great previous Buddha Vipaśyin. It may be told in passing that the *Divyāvadāna* also has described the wealth, prosperity and piety of Jyotishka, the householder, and as in the *Mahāvastu* so in that book, the monks enquired from the Buddha about what good deed was performed by Jyotishka in a former life to win such good fortune in this life. In this Jātaka we are told that King

Bandhuma invited Lord Vipaśyin to his capital which was the native place of the Lord. At that time there was a householder, a very rich merchant named Anaṅgaṇa living in that city. First of all, it was he who approached Lord Vipaśyin, and invited the Lord to be entertained by him for three months and the Lord accepted this invitation proferred to him first by the householder, and so He (the Lord) could not accept the king's invitation to be similarly entertained. The king got fretted by the action of Anaṅgaṇa, the householder. The king (Bandhuma) requested the Lord to eat with himself one day, and with Anaṅgaṇa the next day. The Lord replied—"That may be possible, if however Anaṅgaṇa (the accepted host) gives his consent to such an arrangement." The king sent for Anaṅgaṇa and threatened him saying that his term of life would come to its end, if he went against his king's pleasure. A compromise between the king and Anaṅgaṇa was reached and it was so arranged that Lord Vipaśyin would be the king's guest on one day and Anaṅgaṇa's the next. Anaṅgaṇa always improved upon the hospitality to the Lord shown by the king at his turn. The prime minister was asked by the king to hinder the better success of Anaṅgaṇa in the matter of entertaining the Lord, his Son. On the king's last entertaining day he arranged for a royal reception to the Lord in his large and beautiful park which was decorated gaily with all sorts of luxuries such as sandal-seats for the Lord's monks, young attendants decked in finery, and well-caparisoned lordly elephants holding umbrellas over the guests. The king issued an order prohibiting sellers of wood and stick to sell them to any body under threat of penalty. When Anaṅgaṇa heard of this prohibition he became sad and reflective because of the difficulty he would fall into for cooking food for the Lord and his monks for the last day. In this predicament Śakra, the Lord of devas, appeared in person before Anaṅgaṇa and by his own power provided the householder with all sorts of excellent food, seats, pavilion (constructed immediately at Śakra's order by Viśvakarman, as if by magic), elephants including his own Eravaṇa elephant, sun-shades and attendants. Anaṅgaṇa requested king Bandhuma to come and wait upon the *saṅgha*, along with himself. On entering the pavilion the king wondered at seeing the varied display, and thought that this marvel must have been produced by the power of merit of the householder, Anaṅgaṇa. When the meals were finished, Anaṅgaṇa expressed his vow in this way—"On account of my meritorious gifts and my good actions may I partake of a unique celestial happiness and win the favour of such a unique Master who would teach me the *dharma*! And may I understand the *dharma*, and renunciating the world may I become free from all lusts!"

Gautama Buddha now told the monks that the present householder Jyotishka was in that life the householder, Anaṅgaṇa, during the former Buddha Vipaśyin's time.

Very often even in old Indian Society a sort of competition between a king and rich householders could be observed in showing their splendour of wealth in giving reception to high personages—even to a Buddha. In the above Jātaka story we also observe people's deep belief in meritorious deeds leading to high position in life. Belief in *karma* and *janmāntaravāda* are in the core of Indian philosphical thoughts. A belief also in the personal appearance of gods before virtuous people was also prominent in religious thoughts of old.

NEW LIGHT ON THE INTERPRETATION OF 'ATĪTA-RĀJYA-SAṀVAT'

R. C. MAJUMDAR

FOR more than half a century there has been a keen controversy among the scholars regarding the interpretation of a somewhat peculiar phrase used in dating some records in Bihār. These occur in two inscriptions of Aśokachalla, found at Bodh-Gayā, and one inscription of Jayasena, Lord of Pīṭhī, found at Jānibighā, about six miles to the east of Bodh-Gayā. The expressions run as follows:—

1. *Śrīmal-Lakhvaṇa(kshmaṇa)-senasy=ātīta-rājye Saṁ* 51.
2. *Śrīmal-Lakshmaṇasena-deva-pādānām=atīta-rājye Saṁ* 74.
3. *Lakshmaṇasenasy=ātīta-rājye Saṁ* 83.

The first two occur in two inscriptions of Aśokachalla, one of whose records is dated in the year 1813 of the Buddhist Nirvāṇa Era.

The third occurs in an inscription of Jayasena, king of Pīṭhī and son of Buddhasena. This Buddhasena is mentioned in an inscription at Bodh-Gayā as having issued some directions to the inhabitants of Mahābodhi in respect of some grant made to the religious preceptor of Aśokachalla, king of Kamā.

Dr. Kielhorn suggested that in the above expressions denoting dates, the years were counted from the commencement of the Era of Lakshmaṇasena, but his reign was a thing of the past. As, according to the calculations of Kielhorn, the Era of Lakshmaṇasena commenced in A.D. 1119-20, it followed that Aśokachalla flourished during the period A.D. 1171-1193, and Jayasena was ruling in A.D. 1203, whereas Lakshmaṇasena must have died before A.D. 1171.

This view was accepted by R. D. Banerji and, following him, by almost all subsequent scholars. Dr. H. C. Raychaudhuri accepted Kielhorn's interpretation of the phrase, and therefore held that, as Lakshmaṇasena of the Sena dynasty of Bengal was certainly alive after A.D. 1171, he must be different from the founder of the era.

I believe I was the first to challenge the correctness of the interpretation offered by Kielhorn and accepted by others. I drew attention to the analogous expressions used in the stone records and colophons of manuscripts with reference to Govindapāla. Thus we have:

Śrīmad-Govindapāla-devānāṁ vinashṭarājye ashṭa-triṁśat-saṁvatsare. On the analogy of the interpretation adopted by Kielhorn and others we have to assume that an era was founded by Govindapāla and that, as one of his records is dated as *Śrī-Govindapāladeva-gatarājye chaturdaśa-saṁvatsare,* he died before the 14th year of his reign. But here Mr. Banerji and others held a different view. They interpreted the dates to mean that the king ruled for 39 years,[1] though he ceased to exercise any sovereignty in those places where the expressions *gata-rājye* etc. were used.

This clearly exposed the weakness of the whole theory and I suggested in several articles that in the above expressions the years were to be counted from the end of the rule of the king concerned, namely Lakshmaṇasena and Govindapāla. For it appeared to me that it cannot be a mere coincidence that the expressions were used only with reference to two kings who are known to have been the last rulers of the locality belonging to two well-known dynasties. I explained my view in the following words:

"It is possible that when the Pāla kingdom in Gayā was finally destroyed, the people, specially the Buddhists, continued for some time to count their dates with reference to the last Buddhist king,—Govindapāla. Again, when the Muslim invaders destroyed the Hindu kingdoms in Bihār and Bengal, the people, unwilling to refer to the *pravardhamāna-vijaya-rājya* of the foreign conquerors, counted the dates with reference to the destruction of the last Hindu kingdom."

On this basis I concluded that the era referred to in the records of Aśokachalla and Jayasena started somewhere about A.D. 1200. As the date v.s. 1232 occurs in the inscription of Govindapāla dated in the 14th *gata-rājya* of the king, he must have ceased to rule 14 years before v.s. 1232, i.e., in

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[1] This is the latest known date of Govindapāla, but no words like *gata* or *vinashṭa* are associated with the *saṁvat*. For the dated colophons and stone records of Govindapāla cf. *Proceedings, Indian History Congress,* III, 530-1.

A.D. 1162, and the years referring to his *gata-rājya* or *vinashṭa-rājya* must be counted from this date.

Two corroborative evidences were referred to by me. In the first place two eras known as Balāli san and Parganāti San, current to Bengal, started about A.D. 1200. To be more precise the epoch of the first falls in A.D. 1199 and that of the latter, A.D. 1202-3.

Far more important was the date of Aśokachalla given in one of his records as the year 1813 of the Buddhist Nirvāṇa Era. Referred to the only Buddhist era known at that time, namely the Ceylonese era of 543 B.C., Aśokachalla's date would correspond to A.D. 1270, and this shows that the years 51 and 74 used in his two inscriptions at Bodh-Gayā, as mentioned above, cannot be referred to the era of Lakshmaṇasena started in the year 1119-20 A.D., but would work out well if referred to an era starting from about 1200 A.D.[1]

This view has not, however, found favour with some scholars[2] who have persistently held the view that Aśokachalla flourished between A.D. 1170 and 1193, and Jayasena, son of Buddhasena, king of Pīṭhī, ruled in A.D. 1202-3.

A recent discovery has proved that this view is certainly wrong. The K. P. Jayaswal Research Institute of Patna has secured a Tibetan work the English translation of which is now in the Press. Dr. A. S. Altekar gave a short account of this work in his Presidential address at the 19th Session of the All-India Oriental Conference held at Delhi in December 1957. It is a biography of a Tibetan monk, Chos-rje-dpal (Dharmasvāmin), who came to India and spent two years, 1234-1236 A.D., in Bihār. He met king Buddhasena of Gayā, described as Pīṭhīpati[3]. This leaves no doubt that Aśokachalla, who was a junior contemporary of Buddhasena, and

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[1] Apart from discussions in some Bengali journals, my views were first published in *JASB*, N.S., XVII, pp. 7-16, and reiterated, among others, in the *History of Bengal* (Dacca University), I. pp. 171 fn., 233-8, 259-61, where full references are given for the statements made and the inscriptions cited.

[2] R. D. Banerji, S. Kumar, N. G. Majumdar and others opposed and sometimes even ridiculed my views. The interpretation which I suggested for *gata rājya* was hinted at by R. P. Chanda in *Gauḍarājamālā* (p. 65) casually in a sentence. It was supported by D. C. Bhattacharyya (*Ind. Ant.*, 1922, pp. 155-6; *IHQ*, VI, 166) and Dr. R. G. Basak (*Proceedings, Indian History Congress*, III, 529), though none of them elaborately dealt with all the issues involved. Dr. D. C. Sircar upholds the older view.

[3] Presidential Address, All-India Oriental Conference, 1957, p. 13.

Jayasena, son of Buddhasena, could not possibly have flourished in A.D. 1170 or 1203 A.D., as has been believed by scholars following the views of Kielhorn. On the other hand, the view suggested by me works out well with the new discovery.

While referring to this passage from the Tibetan work, Dr. Altekar observed that 'some scholars suggested that the *Lakshmaṇasenasy-ātīta-rājya-saṁvat* started in *c.* 1200 A.D. when his (Lakshmaṇasena's) rule had terminated', and then added that the Tibetan text conclusively proves that this view was subscribed to at least in the 13th century.

In a recent article[1] Dr. D. C. Sircar tries to save the old theory by supposing that the Lakshmaṇasena Era started from the beginning of his reign in about 1179 A.D., although, at a later date, 1119 A.D. came to be generally regarded as the starting point. This may be reconciled with the newly discovered Tibetan text, but it is difficult to explain the discrepancy of 60 years between the actual beginning of the era and its possible later modification. He admits the possibility of the view enunciated by me "only if Lakshmaṇasena ruled over Bihar".[2] Curiously enough, on the same page about ten lines before, he observes: "The discovery of this inscription shows that Lakshmaṇasena's rule over parts of south Bihār including the Gayā region, at least for a short time, can no longer be regarded as altogether impossible".[3] As a matter of fact Dr. Sircar is influenced by his view that Govindapāla was ousted from the Gayā region by the Gāhaḍavālas. He ignores the fact that this view partly rests upon the old interpretation of *gata-rājya-saṁvat*, and according to my view, which he is otherwise prepared to accept,

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[1] *IHQ*, XXXIV, 21 ff.

[2] *Ibid.*, 24.

[3] It may be pointed out that the interpretation of Kielhorn, which Dr. Sircar upholds, is based on the assumption that Lakshmaṇasena ruled in the Gayā region, as will be evident from R. D. Banerji's writings. That Dr. D. C. Sircar, erhaps unconsciously, still subscribes to this view is apparent from some passages in his recent article referred to above. Thus he says: "The initiation and prevalence of the era in Bihar again suggests the expansion of the suzerainty of the Senas of Bengal over that region" (p. 22). Again on p. 25 we read: "But it has to be admitted that we do not know whether Lakshmaṇasena was ousted from the Gayā area by the Gāhaḍavālas or the Muslims. The silence of the Muslim historians on this point may of course suggest that it was probably the Gāhaḍavālas who re-occupied the area from the Senas no doubt for a short time to be themselves overthrown byt he Muhammadans." It is not easy to understand why the silence of the Muslim historians should operate in favour of the claim of the one rather than the other. In any case this passage clearly takes for granted that Lakshmaṇasena was in possession of the Gayā region shortly before the Muslim victory over the Gāhaḍavālas.

Govindapāla ceased to reign in A.D. 1162. There is really no evidence of Govindapāla being ousted by the Gāhaḍavālas, and we may easily accept the view generally held, on good evidence, that Lakshmaṇasena ruled in Bihār. However, it is unnecessary to discuss this question in detail on the present occasion. The newly discovered Tibetan text shows definitely that my view about the dates of Aśokachalla and Jayasena is right, and the current view is wrong, and this fully supports my interpretation of the expression *atīta-rājya-saṁvat*.

THE ALLEGED ACHAEMENID AND HELLENISTIC INFLUENCES UPON THE ADMINISTRATION OF THE MAURYA EMPIRE

U. N. Ghoshal

In chapter V (entitled *Mauryan Polity*) of the work *Age of the Nandas and Mauryas* (Banaras 1952) contributed by Prof. K. A. Nilakantha Sastri, the author, after noticing "much similarity" between the problems of political organization facing Alexander's successors and Chandragupta Maurya and "the fairly close resemblances" of fiscal and bureaucratic arrangements of contemporary Syria and Egypt with those of Kauṭilya, seeks the explanation of those resemblances in Kauṭilya's "study of foreign models" while planning the administration of the newly established Indian empire (ibid., pp. 173-74). The three important instances mentioned by him in support of his thesis are the following:—

(1) Kauṭilya's investiture of the king's decree with an independent as well as an overriding authority over other sources of law has its parallel in contemporary Hellenistic monarchies. This suggests the influence of contemporary foreign practice upon Kauṭilya (ibid., pp. 174-75).

(2) Without actually asserting the king's ownership of the soil (a characteristic feature of Ptolemaic Egypt) Kauṭilya advocated and no doubt introduced into the administration "all the detailed supervision and control of agricultural and marketing operations that would have arisen from such ownership" (ibid., p. 177).

(3) "The speedy and successful creation of an army of officials and the organization of them into a well-ordered bureaucracy" furnished "another point of resemblance between the Mauryan State and the Hellenistic monarchies", both being "aided by the models set up by the empire of the Achaemenids" (ibid., p. 178). Concluding his review, the author observes that the Mauryan polity was partly a culmination of the indigenous imperialist tradition beginning to take shape under the Mauryas, and partly consisted of

"wise borrowings and adaptations from contemporary foreign models, immediately Hellenistic, but ultimately traceable to the Achaemenids" (ibid., p. 189). Recapitulating broadly his arguments and conclusions in a later context (ibid., pp. 197-198) the author says that India "was drawn more and more into the welter" of the great economic and political revolutions initiated by the conquests of Alexander and completed by the rise of large territorial states under absolute monarchs, and that these foreign ideas and influences pressed their way into the political and administrative system of the newly founded Mauryan empire.

The above line of arguments and conclusions is repeated, often *verbatim*, in Chapter III (Section on government of the Mauryan empire) contributed jointly by Prof. K. A. N. Sastri and the late Dr. P. C. Bagchi to the work *A Comprehensive History of India* (Calcutta 1957). It will then evidently not be improper to ascribe the statements in this section likewise to the former contributor (hereinafter called the author).

We may start our discussion of the above views by ignoring the vexed question of the date and authorship of Kauṭilya's Arthaśāstra and assuming with the author that the machinery of government described in this work represents "what obtained in the reigns of Chandragupta and Bindusāra" (*CHI*, p. 58). The discussion being thus simplified may be arranged under the following heads:—

Firstly, as to the great political and economic revolutions in the Hellenistic world and their influence upon the Mauryan empire. During the period of stabilization following the wars of Alexander's successors, we are told by a high authority, Prof. M. Rostovtzeff, (*SEHHW*, pp. 1027-30), that the main problem of the Ptolemies and the Seleucids was "to establish a *modus vivendi* between the two foundations on which their dominions rested", namely the new settlers and the indigenous population. With the object of fusing their kingdoms into solid political units they attempted to introduce a new economic organization involving the harmonious co-operation of the two parts. They achieved a partial stabilization and balance of power, but had no success in solving "the great antinomy in the political, the social and the economic life of their kingdoms" which arose from the conflict between the two leading forms of civilized life, namely the Eastern and the Western. According to another authority, W. S. Ferguson (*CAH*, pp. 110, 121, 155-56, 177), the problem set before the Hellenistic rulers was that of a foreign dynasty, not possessing like the Achaemenids a solid base of its power in a definite part of its territory, which sought to integrate (in Egypt) a civilization of immemorial antiquity regulating all aspects of life of the people, and (in Western Asia) three great culture-complexes in the Eastern, the central and the north-western parts of the empire. Thence resulted the division of Egypt between the territory of the Greek cities with their limited powers of self-government and "the country" consisting of nomes which were ruled by the king's officials, and the similar division of Syria and Mesopotamia between the Symmachi (the territory of the Greek cities and their subjects) and "the royal land" belonging to the king. To continue our quotation from the last-named authority (ibid., p. 7), the early Hellenistic age was marked by an experiment in the two expedients for combining small States into larger units, namely, League and Monarchy", the latter type eventually receiving the stamp of general approval because of its advantages. In the course of this development the old Macedonian monarchy was transformed into a distinct type of government resting on a king-made aristocracy (and not as in Macedonia and in Persia on a nobility springing from the soil), and supported by the new Greek theories of the absolute ruler as well as cult of deification of the living king.

In contrast with their Hellenistic contemporaries the imperial Mauryas had the task of carrying into completion, within a region more or less belonging to a common cultural zone, a process that had been started by their predecessors, viz., that of fusing the smaller kingdoms and the republics into a larger political unit. Not for them was the complicated issue of reconciling two diverse forms of civilized life and of conflict with an alternative type of combination of smaller states into a larger whole. In fact the Mauryas owed their rise to power at first to a great popular upheaval against Macedonian imperialism and (if tradition is to be believed) against the oppression of their Nanda predecessors, and the final consolidation of their empire to the supremely benevolent rule of Aśoka under the inspiration of his message of *dharma*. If we may judge from the scanty references in the earlier literature fortified by the probabilities of the case, the Mauryas adopted for the purpose of an all-India empire the administrative and financial arrangements for small states bequeathed to them by their predecessors. How well the Maurya monarchy was maintained on the traditional lines is illustrated by the fact that Aśoka, the last of the great imperial Mauryas, was not tempted, notwithstanding the example of his Western predecessors and contemporaries, to claim for himself any higher title than the simple title of (*rājā*) king and no greater dignity than the colourless epithet *devanāṃ piya* (Beloved of the Gods). To say in face of the above that Maurya India was drawn into the welter of the great political and economic revolutions of the contemporary Hellenistic world and that the impact of the influences from the west led virtually, after a bold dictum of Rostovtzeff quoted by the author[1], to the complete Hellenization of India under Chandragupta Maurya is to do violence to the facts of history.

Secondly, as to the exaltation of royal power in the Hellenistic monarchies and its influence upon the Mauryan empire. One of the most characteristic developments of the Eastern Hellenistic monarchies, as Rostovtzeff (*sehhw*, pp. 1067-68) tells us, was the rise of a new Greek civil law in which "the variety of judicial systems" arising from the differences between the native population and the foreign immigrants "was dominated by royal legislation and jurisdiction". This meant that "a royal law if it conflicted with other laws was always regarded as overriding them and that the royal verdict in lawsuits was held to be final." By contrast Kauṭilya, following the ancient Smṛiti authorities, held the law of the social order as well as the State law to have a two-fold source, viz. the Sacred Canon and approved custom, only adding the current (Arthaśāstra?) law and reasoning to the list in the latter case. Kauṭilya's extract (III, 1) interpreted by the author to mean exaltation of the royal decree "above all other sources of law in its superior validity" (*CHI*, p. 51) seems really to signify the overriding authority of the king's judicial decree over all other processes of decision of suits. It is true that Kauṭilya likewise formulates a principle investing the king's executive edict with the force of law. But this principle which is illustrated by concrete instances in the early Buddhist literature is tacitly limited in Kauṭilya's system by the authority of the law of the social order and the State law. In this form it is taken over by the metrical Smṛitis from Yājñavālkya downwards[2]. It is evident from the above that there is nothing "un-Indian" or "exceptional" in Kauṭilya's reference to the king's authority, and further that there is no parallel between the conditions in Maurya India and those contributing to the domination of the king's law in the Hellenistic world.

Thirdly, as to the Hellenistic theory of the King's ownership of the soil and Kauṭilya's reproduction of its substance in his Arthaśāstra. In this case we have first to distinguish between the theory of Ptolemaic Egypt and Macedonia on the one side and that of Seleucid Asia on the other. To the former the State was "the house" of the king and its territory "his estate". In the latter case the kings not inheriting like the Ptolemies a divine title to the ownership of the realm "recognized the proprietory rights of the "kings", dynasts, tribes and cities and deputed to them the work of government, (Ferguson in CAH, p. 27). In the next place the author's arguments based on Kauṭilya's "detailed supervision and control of agricultural and marketing operations" do not bear scrutiny. The rules relating to the grant of life-estate to cultivators and their eviction in case of default (II, 1) apply expressly to the colonized tracts. Even so Kauṭilya adds the saving clause (ignored by the author) that unprepared lands are not to be taken away from those who prepare them for cultivation, or in other words are to be granted on a long term tenure. Again, the complete control of agriculture in Kauṭilya's work (II, 24) by the *Sītādhyaksha* (somewhat loosely translated by the author as "superintendent of agriculture" but really meaning something like steward of the royal farms) tending "to make all agriculture a vast state-aided enterprise" (CHI, p. 57) is concerned with the king's private lands alone. The entire proceeds from this source technically called *sītā* are sharply distinguished in Kauṭilya's classified list of sources of revenue (II, 6) from the king's dues (*bhāga*) received from the ordinary cultivators. Moreover, the duties of the *Koshṭhāgārādhyaksha* (II, 15) comprising "extensive marketing operations on the part of government" (*chi*, loc. cit.) clearly refer to the administration of the king's grain-receipts from the State store-house. We have, again, the conclusive evidence of Kauṭilya's civil law under the title *vāstu* which comprises tenements, fields, gardens of different kinds, tanks and other sources of water supply (III, 8-9). Under this head we have clauses relating to the rent payable by the tenants, to the public sale of property by its owners, and to the loss of "ownership" (*svāmya*) by lapse of possession. In the above circumstances there might be some justification for Megasthenes's rash generalization (in the versions of Strabo and Diodorus) about the king's ownership of the whole land of India. But there seems to be no reason for the author's reading into Kauṭilya's system the substance of the above theory.

Fourthly, as to the parallel between the organization of the bureaucracy in the Mauryan empire and in the Hellenistic monarchies. In the West the task of the kings was to create a Greek bureaucratic machinery "in a foreign country in new and somewhat bewildering conditions out of elements entirely devoid of suitable qualifications" (Rostovtzeff in SEHHW, p. 1079). On the other hand Kauṭilya helped to complete a bureaucratic machinery out of indigenous elements going back to the preceding period. Although the stages of this development are imperfectly known chiefly because of the nearly complete loss of pre-Kauṭilyan *Arthaśāstra* literature and lack of authentic history of organization of the pre-Mauryan states, its signs are unmistakable. We have, firstly, a number of able and successful ministers and officials known to historical tradition. Such are Sunīdha and Vassakāra (ministers of Ajātaśatru), Yaugandharāyaṇa (minister of Udayana), and Rakshasa (minister of the last Nanda king). The *Jātakas*, again, introduce us to stories, taken no doubt from life, of the achievements of able ministers and other officials. In such an atmosphere we could expect the rise of a class of officials trained in the practice of administration. The training of this class in the theory of administration was helped by the rise of a distinct 'science' (*śāstra*) concerned with the problems of government namely the *Arthaśāstra*. We know that Kauṭilya claims to base his work upon the study of all the *Arthaśāstras* composed by the previous masters, while he quotes the views of his predecessors about such concrete problems of administration and bureaucratic organization as the king's policy towards his sons, the recruitment of *amātyas* and their selection for specialized posts, and the composition of the *mantripariṣhad*. We have, again, to remember that the body of the *Dharmasūtra* civil law and the more extensive body of law and legal procedure in Kauṭilya's work (going back, as we know from his quotations, to his predecessors) must have called for officials specially qualified for this task. We have a pointed reference to the theory and practice of statecraft in a passage of Kauṭilya (II, 10) where he observes that he composed his chapter on royal writs after studying all *śāstras* as well as their application. This last extract, which should naturally be taken to refer to the antecedent *Arthaśāstra* works and the practices of earlier kings, is unnecessarily interpreted by the author to imply Kauṭilya's "study of foreign models". We have an actual reference to the form of the State writ not indeed of a monarchy, but of the Lichchhavi republic of Vaiśālī belonging to the earlier period in a passage of the *Chīvaravastu* of the Vinaya section of the Mūlasarvāstivādins (quoted by the present writer in his work *Studies in Indian History and Culture*, p. 390). It is interesting to observe that Rostovtzeff (*cah*, pp. 154, 174), while leaving open the question of the influence of Ptolemaic organization upon Chandragupta Maurya in respect of such similarities as State monopolies in oils, salt and mines and the far-reaching state socialism under the rule of enlightened monarchs, denies the possibility of the influence of the Seleucids. This exception is ignored by the author in his anxiety to trace resemblances between the Maurya empire and the contemporary Hellenistic monarchies. In truth a comparison of Kauṭilya's bureaucratic organization even with that of the Ptolemies is not always to the latter's advantage. In Kauṭilya the bureaucratic machinery consists of a highly trained staff of officials working in accordance with detailed administrative regulations for every distinct office. In Ptolemaic Egypt, on the other hand, the officials were guided in part by the pre-Ptolemaic tradition, partly by instructions from kings or their own superiors, and partly by the laws issued by the king, while the collection, transport and storage of taxes and rents were entrusted to elected or nominated representatives of the native Egyptians working in conjunction with the heads of government stores and the directors of the local branch of the treasury who were half tax-farmers. (Rostovtzeff in *CHA*, pp. 123-24). We look in vain in Ptolemaic Egypt for a parallel of such features of Chandragupta Maurya's administration as the municipal board of thirty members divided into six committees in charge of as many branches of the local administration, or of the war office of the same numbers consisting of committees in charge of the several branches of the army as well as army service and commissariat. Indeed if creative spirit may be held with Rostovtzeff (*SEHHW*, p. 1079) to be the distinctive merit of the Hellenized Oriental bureaucracies of Western Asia and Egypt, it is the supreme mark of the Maurya bureaucracy. But then Kauṭilya, it is urged by the author, "departed from the usual rule of the Indian State" namely non-interference with "the daily avocations of the people" and limitation to the task of "preventing hindrances to their lawful pursuits". That this was not the usual rule of the Indian State in and before Kauṭilya's time can be proved both on general and on particular grounds. The king's distinctive obligation of enforcing the duties of the *varṇas* and the *āśramas*, which was imposed upon him by the *Smṛitis* from the oldest times, necessarily gave a wide scope to the king's jurisdiction over the lives of his subjects; for the *Smṛitis* extended their directions to minute regulations about food and drink, inter-marriage and social behaviour. We have, again, concrete instances of the king's interference with the lives of the subjects in other texts, as when we read in *Āpastamba-Dahrmasūtra* that assaults at arms, dancing, singing and the like are to be performed only at the houses of the king's servants, or when we find in the *Jātaka* stories of kings and even ordinary officials issuing general orders for temporary prohibition of drink and animal-slaughter, as well as of Brāhmaṇas and other millionaires asking the king's permission for renouncing the world. Equally significant is the reference in early Buddhist canonical texts to the rule of the Lichchhavis of Vaiśālī relating to hypergamous marriages of girls of their clan and condemning the best of them to be the common possession of the *gaṇa*[3]. It would follow from the above that Kauṭilya followed a well-established tradition in stretching the authority of the State over the lives of the subjects.

Fifthly and lastly, as to the influence of Achaemenid models upon the Maurya administration. The intimate contact of India with the Achaemenid Empire may be traced back to the time of Darius (*c.* 522-486 B.C.) who formed two provinces out of his Indian conquests on the usual conditions of Persian provincial administration. The continuation of Achaemenid influence may be traced down to Aśoka's reign as indicated by his use of the Aramaic language and the Kharoshṭhi script as well as of words borrowed from the Iranian language in his inscriptions, not to speak of some specific features of his art and architecture. We may again infer that the example set by the excellent road-system of the Persians reacted upon the programme of road construction of the Mauryas. On the other hand we have the significant fact that the Mauryas never attempted to adopt the excellent gold currency of the Achaemenids in spite of its obvious advantages over the indigenous currency. Above all there remains the fundamental difference between the Maurya Empire with its highly centralized administration and that of the Achaemenids which because of its content of complex cultures and civilizations had no other alternative than to adopt a system of administrative decentralization.

Summing up the above discussion, we may state our conclusion that the elaborate political and economic organization described in Kauṭilya's *Arthaśāstra* and followed no doubt in its main outlines in the Maurya administration was the crowning achievement of the ancient Indian genius for practical statecraft marking the climax of experiments in theory and practice going back to the preceding period. The measure of its success may be gauged from the fact that the Mauryas were able almost at the start to repulse the invasion of Seleucus the lord of Western Asia, and that they held together the parts of their empire and even extended its limit in the following century. Considering the comparative simplicity of the problems facing the Mauryas in comparison with their Achaemenid predecessors and Hellenistic contemporaries, and the uniformly high level of the Maurya political and economic arrangements, it seems reasonable to hold that the few resemblances traceable between the Indian administration and its western counterparts were more in the nature of similar historical circumstances producing the same result rather than of the conscious borrowing of institutions by the former from the latter.

NOTES

1. The dictum (Rostovtzeff in *SEHHW*, pp. 550-51) is as follows:—"If one believes in the historical character and the early date of the kernel of the *Arthaśastra* of Kauṭilya and in the radical centralization of Indian government effected by Chandragupta on Hellenistic lines, one may say that Chandragupta did more to hellenize India than Demetrius and Menander". In *ANM* p. 198 the author finds "much force" in this statement, only adding that the Kauṭilyan and the Hellenistic organizations were modelled upon that of the Achaemenids. In *CHI*, p. 55, the author quotes the above extract with evident approval, only explaining that what was borrowed was integrated with indigenous institutions and ideas into a harmonious whole. In either case he rejects the conditional clause which from his point of view is evidently superfluous.

2. On the above subject vide the work, *A History of Political Ideas*, pp. 113-14, 161-62, by the present writer.

3. For reference vide *Chīvaravastu* quoted above.

Abbreviations used in the above article

ANM=*Age of the Nandas and Mauryas*, edited by K. A. Nilakantha Sastri, Banaras, 1952.
CAH =*Cambridge Ancient History*, Vol. VII.
CHI =*A Comprehensive History of India*, Vol. II, edited by K. A. Nilakantha Sastri, Orient Longmans, 1957.
SEHHW = *The Social & Economic History of the Hellenistic World* by M. Rostovtzeff, 2 vols., Oxford University Press, 1941.

A BRAHMANICAL DEITY IN INDO-CHINA AND INDONESIA

Suniti Kumar Chatterji

Śrī or Lakshmī

The deities who are most commonly worshipped in India at the present day, and for the matter of that for the last 3,000 years, ever since the evolution of a Brahmanical pantheon at the termination of the Vedic age, have been Śiva and Umā, as well as Vishṇu and Śrī. Śrī is of course quite a popular deity, but Śiva and his consort, and Vishṇu, particularly in his incarnations Rāma and Kṛishṇa, are the most popular divinities. Śiva and Vishṇu present so to say the two sides of the medal. The Supreme Spirit, or the Ultimate Reality behind life, is conceived of as a personal Divinity in Brahmanism, and this Divinity is approached from two aspects, following the mental and spiritual atmosphere of the worshipper. Śiva is the personal Divinity conceived as the God of Wisdom and Knowledge (*jñāna*), and He is to be approached through intellection and profound meditation. He is benign and kind and beneficient, while He is at the same time terrible and pitiless and destructive. He destroys, but He also recreates. Vishṇu presents the Divinity as love and grace, and His worshippers can think of realizing him only through His grace. He is the God of love, who responds to a blind abandon of faith. If Śiva is the Divinity to be attained by *jñāna*, Vishṇu is to be attained by *bhakti*. Of course, there is a passionate faith in the Godhead in either of these conceptions or manifestations; and in their abandon of love and self-dedication to the Divinity, the Śaiva as well as the Vaishṇava devotees follow the same path of *bhakti*. According to one's choice, one can attempt for spiritual realization of Śiva through *jñāna*, or of Vishṇu through *bhakti*. But Śiva is equally attainable through *bhakti*, as much as Vishṇu can be attained through the path of knowledge.

The *Śaktis* or the Innate Power of these two manifestations are also idealized as their spouses, who cannot be conceived of as distinct from them. Śiva's energy, his power in creating and destroying, is manifested in the great Mother-Goddess Umā or Pārvatī or Durgā, who is both the great living Mother of the Universe and the Force of Destruction: a mother who feeds and nourishes and succours, and at the same time, as a terrible power of destruction, who is cruel and ferocious in dealing death and dissolution. Both these loving as well as the destroying aspects of the great Mother are equally the objects of worship among the faithful. The name *Umā* appears to be from a pre-Aryan word *Mā*, which we find also in Greek, and which means just *Mother* (our modern Indo-Aryan *Mā* or *Māṅ* is not connected with the name *Umā*, but it is a modification of the Sanskrit word *Mātā*=Indo-European=*Mātēr*, meaning 'Mother'. Śrī, on the other hand, as the spouse of the protecting and saving Divinity Vishṇu, is the Goddess of Beauty as well as of Bounty, and it is her concern to fill the earth with the plenty of Nature and to bring fullness and happiness to Humanity. As such, Śrī is prominently the Goddess of Agriculture, and all food grains are the gift of Mother Śrī.

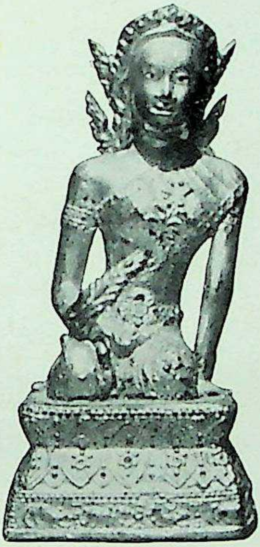
It would appear that, as in the case of all the great Divinities in complex systems of religion which arose out of a fusion of two or more culture worlds (including also religion), Śrī is both Aryan and non-Aryan in origin. Her name Śrī evidently is Indo-European: in primitive Indo-European the word was '**Krəis*', which we find represented in Sanskrit as *Śrīḥ* and in Latin as *Ceres*. Ceres is the great Mother who presides over agriculture and foodgrains. It seems that the conception of Śrī as a Divinity presiding over agriculture and food is both Aryan and pre-Aryan. A common name of Śrī in Sanskrit is *Mā*, which also appears to be the same pre-Aryan word as *Umā*, meaning 'Mother'. The word *Śrī*, as the name of Goddess of Beauty and Prosperity, has been one of the most popular words within the Indian world, for at least three millennia. Everywhere we use the word *Śrī*, as an expression qualifying names and epithets, and suggesting beauty and grace and prosperity and happiness. The Sanskrit words *Śrēyas* and *Śrēshṭha*, which are the comparative and superlative forms of an adjective meaning 'good' or 'beautiful' (*Śrēyas*='better', or 'more beautiful', and *Śrēshṭha*='best', or 'highest', or 'most beautiful'), are really connected with the word *Śrī*. We are perfectly justified in assuming *Śrī* to be the basic noun or adjectival word, and *Śrēyas* and *Śrēshṭha* to be respectively the comparative and superlative forms of it.

It is rather remarkable that the Indian Divinities who were depicted in art from the oldest period have been Indra, Brahmā, Sūrya and Śrī. There were of course representations of the lesser Gods like the Yakshas in the oldest specimens of Indian art. But of the greater Divinities, these four feature from very early times—from the Maurya period onwards. Śiva and Vishṇu and Umā or Dēvī make their entry in art much later. From Barhut and Sanchi, we see representations of Śrī. We have the standing figure of a Goddess in the Barhut rails, where we find the name of *Śrī* written in Brāhmī letters (*Sirimā Devatā*='the Divinity *Śrī-mā*'). Here we have *Śrī* indicated by her two common names: *Śrī*, modified in Prākṛit as *Siri*,+*Mā*. This *Sirimā Dēvatā*, or *Śrī-mā Dēvī*, has nothing very remarkable about her—she is dressed just in the ordinary woman's costume such as we find in Barhut and Sanchi. There are also other figures of Śrī in the oldest art of India which became very popular in later times, that of Śrī as *Gaja-Lakshmī* in this kind of iconography: Śrī seated on a lotus-flower, either cross-legged, or as on a chair, and she holds lotuses in her hands; and there are figures of elephants on either side pouring lustral water on the Goddess from water-jars held by their trunks. In Gupta coins we find this Mā and Śrī as the great Mother Goddess depicted as seated on a lotus or on a chair;and she also holds in her hand an Indian modification of the Greco-Roman cornucopia or horn of plenty, from which are coming out fruits and flowers and wheat and all other produce of the earth which makes for the sustenance and well-being of man.

Rice happened to be the most widespread of foodgrains in India when the Aryans came into this country. China, South-Eastern Asia and India were the original homelands of rice. The Sanskrit word for rice, *Vrīhi*, which is found from Vedic literature onwards, is of uncertain origin. On the one hand we may note the Tamil word for rice, *Ariśi*, which is based on an earlier form like **Ariki* in Primitive Dravidian (or even **Warigi*?); and on the other hand we note its Iranian equivalents which are preserved in Pashtu as *Wrīzhe*, in Modern Persian as *Birinj*. The Greek word for rice, *Oruza* (*Oryza*), with its modern European derivatives like French *Riz*, English *Rice*, Spanish *Arros* etc., is doubtless derived from some Iranian form. In India the Aryans brought with them the barley (Sanskrit *Yava*, Greek *Zea*), and this was the first or oldest foodgrain grown among the Indo-Europeans. Wheat the Indo-Europeans picked up later in the lands of the Eastern Mediterranean and the Near East; and the word for wheat in Iranian and in Indo-Aryan, from the diversity of its forms showing want of proper phonetic correspondence, would appear to be based on some non-Indo-European word which was borrowed in different forms in the different parts of the Aryan world: compare Sanskrit *Gōdhūma*, Persian *Gandum* and Modern Indo-Aryan Hindi *Gēhūṅ*, Bengali *Gam* (*Gòm*) from an earlier *Gaham*. The use of wheat appears to have been a much later cultural imposition on North-Western India from the contiguous Iran. The common word for rice, *Vrīhi* etc., in the Indian world also recalls the word *Bras* or *Beras* in Indonesian which means 'husked rice'; and it is not unlikely that through the presence of rice-growing Austric peoples throughout the whole of North India right up to the frontiers in the North-West, and even beyond, rice was the most popualr food-grain. No wonder that the Goddess Śrī should be particularly linked up with the cultivation of rice. We see that in all the rice-growing areas of India, particularly Assam, Bengal, Orissa and the South.

In the Buddhism of Indo-China and of ancient Indonesia, there has never been a divorcement from Brahmanism as much as in India—at least in its popular forms and in its mythology. The main Divinities who were worshipped by the Brahmans in the later Vedic age were equally the Divinities for the Buddhists and the Jainas. Subsequently with the emergence into prominence of Śiva and Dēvī and Vishṇu they also were honoured. But as a consort of Vishṇu, Śrī obtained an additional status and prestige, as well as Kumāra or Skanda and Gaṇeśa and other deities of the Purāṇas, who gradually acquired a place in popular Buddhist and Jaina religions, in the countries of Indo-China and Indonesia as well. The old Brahmanical religion was followed by Buddhism, both Hīnayāna and Mahāyāna. Buddha of course took up the most important position as the person who was venerated even more than the Gods. But the Gods never lost their place entirely. In Buddhism as practised by the masses of the people everywhere outside India, in China, in Korea, in Japan as much as in Viet Nam and Cambodia, in Thailand, in Burma, in Indonesia, and in Ceylon also, Brahmanical deities still continue to have a place of honour. In Buddhist temples, it is quite common to find figures of Brahmanical deities, because in this background, Buddha himself was a Brahmanist, and the entire pantheon of ancient India was not exclusively connected with only one of its three great manifestations, Brahmanism, Buddhism and Jainism.

Travelling in Siam in 1927, I found that in a little shop where they sold bronze figures in the Siamese style, there were figures of some Hindu deities also for sale. I was told that these were also found in the ordinary *Vats* or Pagodas. I could purchase only a set of five figures in gilt bronze, and I could not wait for others for want of time. These were: (1) Umā or Dēvī or Durgā, who is kneeling on the back of Śiva's bull, and she has eight arms with various weapons in these arms, and the curious thing is that she has shoes in her feet which are typical Indian shoes with upturned toe-piece. (2) There were two very small figures of Rāma and Lakshmaṇa which I could get, both of them seated and dressed in crown and jewellery, and Rāma was painted green as in India. (3) Then there were two images of Lakshmī or Śrī which I could procure. In their iconography these figures are interesting. They are very simply executed, and they depict the Goddess Śrī dressed in old Siamese costume for ladies, seated in a kneeling posture. The left hand of the Goddess, with a supple curve, is resting on the ground, whereas in her right hand she is holding a sprig of rice in grain. This is of course an idealization of the beauty and the bounty of Nature as typified by the rice-stalk, and it is in itself a very pretty composition. This iconography is not entirely in conformation with the early or late medieval



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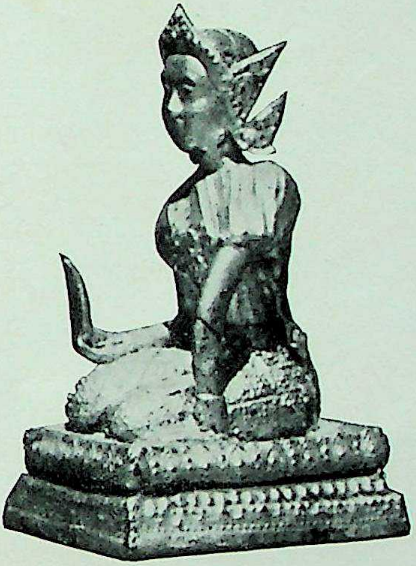

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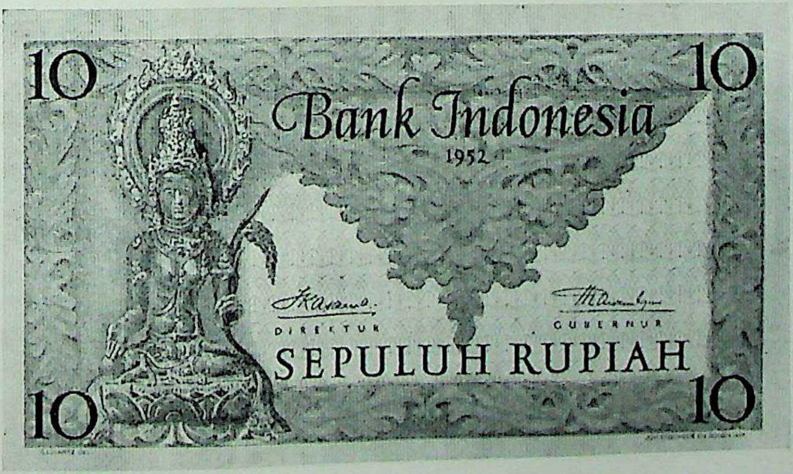
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3. Indonesia : A Currency Note

Indian iconography of Lakshmī. Here in this case the dress is early Thai or Cambodian.

In Buddhist (Mahāyāna) mythology as it developed independently of Brahmanism, Śrī as the wife of Vishṇu is rather colourless. But as the Goddess of Wealth and Prosperity, we have Vasudhārā as one of the two wives of Jambhala or Kubera, the God of Riches, his other wife being Hāritī, the nurse of children and also the bringer and remover of the small pox. Vasudhārā in Mahāyāna Buddhist iconography is always depicted as having a sprig or stalk of rice in her right hand. Vasudhārā therefore may have influenced this figure of Śrī with rice-sprig. (I am indebted to Prof. S. K. Saraswati for drawing my attention to Vasudhārā as the Buddhist counterpart of Śrī).

But this peculiarity of the Goddess Śrī holding in her hand a sprig or ear of rice is not peculiar to Thailand or Indo-China. In Indonesia, the Goddess Śrī (*Sang Hyang Dewi Seri*) is usually represented as being seated on a lotus, and holding in her hand only a sprig of rice in grain. Such figures, recalling early Pāla and Sēna bronzes of Eastern India, and the bronze figures of Nepal and Tibet, are to be found in Java, and they are in many museums. In one of the recent bank-notes of Indonesia, as a beautiful tribute to this conception of the Goddess of Beauty presiding over the Production of Wealth through Agriculture, they have reproduced a beautiful old Javanese bronze figure of Śrī with the rice-stalk in her left hand, and the gesture of *vara* or boon-giving is depicted by the right hand. This figure agrees in its general conception entirely with the iconography of Vasudhārā, as well as partially with the bronze figures from Siam, although the latter has a different kind of dress and decoration. (See "Altjavanische Bronzen" by Robert Heine-Geldern, Vienna 1925, plate 14 for a similar old Javanese bronze figure of Sarasvatī).

It would appear that the Goddess as the presiding Deity over rice-cultivation is one of the contributions of the Austric people to the mythology and iconography of India. Throughout Indonesia, wherever there has been Brahmanical and Buddhist influences, we find little shrines in the form of niches set upon tall altar-like structures. These are sometimes of brick and sometimes of wood, which are dedicated to the Goddess Śrī, as the Deity of the rice-crop. In Muslim Java, even now the decorated bridal bed, which is adorned and kept apart ceremonially, is described as the bed of Śrī.

These figures from Indonesia and Indo-China (Siam) therefore give us one of the primitive or basic conceptions of the Goddess Śrī or Mā, Lakshmī or Kamalā, as the Goddess of food and rice. As the Goddess of Beauty, Śrī became quite early connected with the lotus flower, which she holds in her hands, and on which she takes her seat; and that is why she came to be known as Kamalā and Padmā; and there are similar names in Tamil also connecting her with the lotus flower.

Śrī as the Goddess of Beauty and Plenty is one of the most poetic and artistic conceptions in any system of mythology; and people have still a dim perception of this poetry and this artistic sense, in keeping up these images, even though the importance of her worship as a religious cult has receded or is receding into the background, as in Indonesia and Indo-China.

Post script : In a recent tour in Indonesia I have come to know that the deity represented in the above villages is still known to the local people as Vasudhārā. The iconographic affinities of the goddess with Vasudhārā of the Buddhist pantheon has already been noted above.

হিস্ট্রীর ভাবধারা

অনন্ত কুমার ভট্টাচার্য্য

কলিকাতা বিশ্ববিদ্যালয়ের প্রাচীন ইতিহাস বিভাগের পরিচালক ও প্রধান অধ্যাপক ডাঃ জিতেন্দ্রনাথ বন্দ্যোপাধ্যায়, এম.এ., পিএইচ্. ডি., মহাশয় অশেষ দক্ষতা ও সুনামের সহিত তদীয় বিভাগের পরিচালনা এবং বিভাগ নির্দ্দিষ্ট শাস্ত্রের অধ্যাপনা করিয়া যথাসময়ে অবসর গ্রহণ করিতেছেন। এই উপলক্ষে অধ্যাপক মহাশয়ের সম্মানার্থ একখানি গ্রন্থ মুদ্রিত হইতেছে। ইহাতে একটি অতিক্ষুদ্র প্রবন্ধ রচনার অধিকার পাইয়া আমি নিজেকে কৃতার্থ মনে করিতেছি। কিন্তু এজাতীয় গ্রন্থের উপযোগী প্রবন্ধ নির্ম্মাণের অধিকার আমার আছে কিনা তাহা নিশ্চিতভাবে বুঝিতে পারিতেছি না। যাহাই হউক এই শুভযোগে প্রলুব্ধ হইয়াই আমি অনধিকার চর্চায় প্রবৃত্ত হইলাম।

হিস্ট্রী শব্দটি বৈদেশিক, উহার স্থলে আমাদেরদেশে "ইতিহাস" শব্দটিরই সমধিক প্রচলন দেখা যায়। তত্তদ্দেশে হিস্ট্রী শব্দটি অনুসন্ধানরূপ অর্থে ব্যবহৃত হইত বলিয়া শুনিয়াছি। ইদানীং ঐ শব্দটি একটি বিশেষ বিদ্যা বা শাস্ত্ররূপ অর্থে প্রায়শঃ ব্যবহৃত হইয়া থাকে। ইহাতে অনুসন্ধানরূপ অর্থটি সর্ব্বথা পরিত্যক্ত হইয়াছে বলিয়া মনে হয় না। কারণ যে বিদ্যা বা শাস্ত্রকে হিস্ট্রী বলা হয়, তাহা একান্তই অনুসন্ধানসাপেক্ষ। এইরূপ হইলেও ঐ শব্দটিকে অবলম্বন করিয়া আমরা উক্ত শাস্ত্রে লক্ষণ-বিনির্ম্মাণ করিতে পারিব বলিয়া মনে হয়না। ঐভাবে লক্ষণ করিতে হইলে অনুসন্ধানসাপেক্ষ অর্থাৎ অনুসন্ধান জন্য শাস্ত্রত্ব বা ঐরূপ বিদ্যাত্বকেই হিস্ট্রীর লক্ষণ বলিতে হয়। কিন্তু অতিব্যাপ্তি দোষে দুষ্ট হওয়ায় উহাকে লক্ষণরূপে আমরা গ্রহণ করিতে পারি না। "ফিজিকস্" প্রভৃতি শাস্ত্রেও সেই সেই শাস্ত্রানুসারী অনুসন্ধানের বিশেষ প্রয়োজন আছে। ঐ সকল শাস্ত্রকে হিস্ট্রী বলা হয় না। অতএব শাস্ত্রান্তরগামী হওয়ায় অনুসন্ধান জন্য শাস্ত্রত্বরূপ লক্ষণটি যে অতিব্যাপ্তিদোষে দুষ্ট ইহা পরিস্ফুটই আছে। উক্ত শাস্ত্রের অন্তর্গত অধিকাংশ গ্রন্থে গ্রন্থকারগণ লক্ষণ বাক্যের প্রয়োগ না করিয়া শাস্ত্রের বর্ণনাত্মক ব্যাখ্যারই আশ্রয় লইয়াছেন। অবশ্য উক্ত শাস্ত্রের নির্দ্দোষ লক্ষণ করাও অনায়াস-সাধ্য হইবে বলিয়া মনে হয় না। এইরূপ স্থলে লক্ষণ করিতে গিয়া নব্যনৈয়ায়িক সম্প্রদায় যে প্রণালী অবলম্বন করেন, তাহাতে হিস্ট্রী শাস্ত্রেরও লক্ষণ-বিনির্ম্মাণ অসম্ভব হইবে না। ইহা সত্য হইলেও ঐভাবে লক্ষণ-নির্দ্দেশ করিলাম না। কারণ, যাঁহারা ন্যায়শাস্ত্রে পারদর্শী নহেন,

বিশেষতঃ যাঁহারা বিদেশীয় রীতিতেই অধ্যয়নাধ্যাপনায় অভ্যস্ত তাঁহাদের ঐরূপ লক্ষণ সুখবোধ্য বা অনুমত হইবে না।

শাস্ত্রকারগণ হিস্ট্রীকে প্রধানতঃ তিনভাগে বিভক্ত করিয়াছেন। প্রাচীন, মধ্যযুগীয় ও পরবর্ত্তী বা ‘মডার্ণ’। প্রাচীন ইতিহাসের অনুসন্ধেয় বিষয় হইবে প্রাচীন নিবন্ধ, তাম্রাদি ধাতুময় পাত্রে বা শিলাখণ্ডে বর্ণিত শাসন, পর্ব্বতগাত্রাদিতে খোদিত লিপি বা শাসন বাক্য, পশুপক্ষি প্রভৃতির চিত্রাত্মক লিপি ও নানা প্রকারের মুদ্রাদি। পাত্র, অস্ত্রাদি ব্যবহার্য্য দ্রব্য। শিল্পদ্রব্য, প্রাণীর বিশেষতঃ মানুষের কপাল অস্থি প্রভৃতি এইরূপ অন্যান্য নিদর্শন। এই সকল সামগ্রীর মধ্যে সমসাময়িক লোকের বিবরণ প্রধান সামগ্রী হইলেও অতি প্রাচীন যুগ সম্বন্ধে ঐরূপ বিবরণ পাওয়া প্রায় অসম্ভব। অতএব আমাদের দেশের প্রাচীন হিস্ট্রীর পক্ষে প্রাচীন নিবন্ধরূপে বৈদিক সাহিত্য এবং পরবর্ত্তী কালের লিপি ও শাসনগুলিই মুখ্য সামগ্রী মনে করেন, তাহা হইলে আমরা ঐ মতকে অত্যন্ত সংকীর্ণ বলিয়া পরিত্যাগ করিব। যুদ্ধাদির বিবরণের দ্বারা রাজাদের ব্যবহার জানা গেলেও উহার দ্বারা মনুষ্য সমাজের সভ্যতার হিস্ট্রী রচিত হইতে পারে না।

উল্লিখিত সামগ্রীগুলির অনুসন্ধানে উহাদের কালিক পৌর্ব্বাপর্য্য ও দৈশিক অবস্থান অবশ্যই বিবেচিত হইবে। অন্যথা উহাদের বিবর্ত্তনের ধারা ও স্থান অনির্ণীত থাকিয়া যাইবে। সন ও তারিখের নির্দ্দেশ অপরিহার্য্য নহে বলিয়াই মনে হয়। কারণ, উহা জানা না জানার উপর বিবর্ত্তন-নির্ণয় নির্ভর করে না। এই কার্য্যের দ্বারাই হিস্ট্রী রচয়িতার কর্ত্তব্য শেষ হইল না, পরন্তু বর্ত্তমানের সহিত বিবর্ত্তন ধারার সম্বন্ধ পর্য্যন্ত তাহাকে নির্ণয় করিতে হইবে। সভ্যতার যোগাযোগ দেখাইতে না পারিলে বা না দেখাইলে গ্রন্থগুলি হিস্ট্রী-শাস্ত্রের অন্তর্গত হইবে না বলিয়াই মনে হয়।

বর্ত্তমানে “সিভিলিজেসন্” এই বৈদেশিক শব্দটির স্থানে, আমরা প্রায়শঃ “সভ্যতা” শব্দটির প্রয়োগ করিয়া থাকি। বাস্তবিক পক্ষে ঐ শব্দ দুইটি একার্থক না হইলে সমার্থক হইবে বলিয়াই মনে হয়। সভ্যতা বলিতে আমরা অনেকগুলি ঘটনা বা ঐ ঘটনাগুলির সমষ্টিকে বুঝিয়া থাকি। এই ঘটনাগুলির মধ্যে ধার্ম্মিকভাব, শৈল্পিক চিন্তা (বৈজ্ঞানিক চিন্তা শৈল্পিক চিন্তারই অন্তর্গত) ও অর্থনৈতিক বিবেচনা এই তিনটির এক একটিকে প্রধান করিয়া অপরাপর ঘটনাগুলিকে আমি উহাদের অঙ্গরূপে গ্রহণ করিলাম। যুদ্ধ বিগ্রহের চিন্তাকে আমি অর্থনৈতিক বিবেচনার অঙ্গ বলিয়া মনে করি। এই প্রধান চিন্তাগুলির মধ্যে কতগুলি অপচিন্তাও অবশ্যই থাকিবে। কারণ মনের গঠন ও স্বভাব অনুসারেই ঐগুলি অপরিহার্য্য হইয়া গিয়াছে। যেমন ধর্ম্মচিন্তার সঙ্গে নিজেকে অপর হইতে বড় মনে করা এবং আনুষঙ্গিক কতকগুলি বিশেষ সুযোগের অধিকারী বলিয়া সিদ্ধান্ত করা। এইগুলি অসভ্যতা হইলেও সভ্যতার বাহিরে

থাকিবে না, অঙ্গেই থাকিবে। সুতরাং ‘নঞ্’টি অর্থাৎ অসভ্যতার অ’টি নিষেধার্থক না হইয়া কুৎসিৎ বা বিরুদ্ধ অর্থের অভিধায়ক হইবে। এইরূপ অর্থনৈতিক চিন্তা ও শৈল্পিক চিন্তার মধ্যেও কতগুলি কুচিন্তা বা অশুভচিন্তা থাকিবেই। সভ্যতা ও অসভ্যতার স্থলে অসভ্যতা পদের কুৎসিৎ সভ্যতা অর্থ হইলেও সভ্য ও অসভ্য স্থলে অসভ্য পদের অন্তর্গত ‘নঞ্’ বা ‘অ’কারের ভিন্নত্বই অর্থ হইবে। যাহারা সভ্য নহে তাহাদিগকেই অসভ্য বলা হইয়া থাকে। এইরূপ হইলে মানবীয় সভ্যতায় ধর্ম্মচিন্তাই প্রধান হইবে। কারণ এই ক্ষেত্রে ইতর প্রাণীরাই কথিত অর্থে অসভ্য পদবাচ্য হইয়া গিয়াছে। মানবের মধ্যে কোনও না কোনও প্রকারে ধর্ম্মচিন্তা আছে বলিয়াই মনে হয়। ভারতীয় দার্শনিকেরা ইতর প্রাণীর মধ্যেও প্রয়োজনানুযায়ী চিন্তা-বিশেষ আছে বলিয়াই মনে করেন। প্রয়োজনের কারণে কিছুটা অর্থনৈতিক চিন্তা বা শৈল্পিক চিন্তা পশুপক্ষীদের সমাজেও বিদ্যমান আছে। সুতরাং মানবীয় সভ্যতাকে ইতরব্যাবৃত্ত করিতে হইলে ধর্ম্মচিন্তাকেই সভ্যতার প্রধান বা অঙ্গী বলিতে হয়। এই ধর্ম্মচিন্তার জন্যই অর্থনৈতিক ও শৈল্পিকাদি চিন্তাগুলি ঐ সভ্যতার অঙ্গ হইবে।

অতএব মানুষের হিস্ট্রী প্রণয়ন করিতে হইলে ধর্ম্মচিন্তাকে অবলম্বন করিয়াই যতদূর সম্ভব প্রাচীনকাল হইতে আরম্ভ করিয়া বর্ত্তমান কাল পর্য্যন্ত বিবর্ত্তনের ধারার অব্যাহত গতি দেখাইতে হইবে। যদি কোথাও পূর্বতন ধারার ব্যাঘাত হইয়া গিয়া থাকে তাহা হইলে ব্যাঘাতের পর হইতে আর সেই জাতিকে পূর্বতন জাতির হিস্ট্রী সম্মত বংশধর বলা উচিত হইবে না। কারণ ঐ জাতীর ঐ মূল মানবীয় সভ্যতা আর নাই। এই প্রণালীতে হিস্ট্রী শাস্ত্রের পুনঃ প্রবর্ত্তনের সময় আসিয়াছে। এই প্রণালীতে চিন্তা করিয়া শাস্ত্র প্রণয়ন করিতে পারিলে এবং ভাবধারার প্রচার করিতে পারিলেই ভারতীয় হিস্ট্রীতে ভারতীয়ের মন আকৃষ্ট হইবে। অন্যথা বৈদেশিক হিস্ট্রীই প্রধান থাকিবে এবং ভারতীয় হিস্ট্রীর প্রতি অনাদর বৃদ্ধি প্রাপ্তই হইতে থাকিবে। আরও অনেক বলিবার কথা ছিল। প্রবন্ধের আকারের দিকে এবং অনধিকারের প্রতি দৃষ্টি রাখিয়া এই স্থানেই বিরত হইলাম।

CHINCHANI PLATES OF THE ARAB FEUDATORY SUGATIPA

V. V. MIRASHI

ABOUT four years ago the Collector of the Thana District, Bombay State, sent to the Prince of Wales Museum, Bombay, five sets of copper plates which had been discovered at the village Chiñchaṇī in the Dahāṇu Tālukā of that district. The plates edited here formed one of these sets. They were first briefly noticed by Dr. U. P. Shah of the Oriental Institute, Baroda, in the *Report of the Bombay Secretariat Record Office for the year* 1955-56, where their facsimiles have been published. Dr. Shah has not, however, published his reading of the text, nor has he fully discussed its contents. In view of the importance of this grant for the history of Koṅkaṇ, I edit the plates here from the facsimiles mentioned above.

The grant apparently consists of three copper plates, the first and the last of which are inscribed on the inner side and the middle one on both the sides. The characters are of the old Nāgarī alphabet. The language is Sanskrit. The initial portion which eulogises the reigning Rāshṭrakūṭa Emperor and his ancestors as well as his Arab feudatory and his minister is in verse. This is followed by the formal portion of the grant in prose. Then are added the usual benedictive and imprecatory verses, a record of the date and the mention of the scribe's name. The grant ends with two verses, the first of which again records the names of the feudatory prince, his minister, the donor, the village granted, etc., while the second expresses the hope that the grant would endure for ever.

The importance of the present grant consists in this that though it was made by an Arab prince it is written in elegant Sanskrit and records the gift of a village in favour of the goddess Bhagavatī (Mahishāsuramardinī) whose temple existed at Saṁyāna (modern Sanjān). History tells us that the Arabs led by Muhammad ibn Kasim conquered Sindh in A.D. 711 and within the next twenty-five years they defeated several princes such as Saindhava, Kachchhella, Saurāshṭra, Chāvoṭaka, Maurya and Gurjara, and pressed as far South as Navasārī with a view to conquer Dakshiṇāpatha. There the valiant Chālukya prince Avanījanāśraya Pulakeśin inflicted a crushing defeat on them and thus saved South India from their depredations.[1] Thereafter, until the time of Mahmud of Ghazni, the Muslims did not follow an aggressive policy in India. They had indeed occupied some portion of North India and had frequent clashes with the Pratīhāras of Kanauj, but their relations with the Rāshṭrakūṭas of the South were friendly. Masudi says, 'There is none among the rulers of Sindh and Hind who in his territory respects the Muslims like Rājā Balhārā.' Balhārā is a corrupt form of Vallabharāja, which was a title assumed by Rāshṭrakūṭa kings. Some writers also say that Muslims were appointed Governors of cities. Till now we had no evidence of this. This is now furnished by the present grant, which is thus of great importance.

The object of the present inscription was to record that Sugatipa of the Tājika (Arab) race, with the previous permission of his overlord, the Rāshṭrakūṭa king Indra III, donated the village Kāṇāḍuka in the territorial division (*vishaya*) of Kolimahāra and also some land in another village named Devīhara to the temple of a goddess at Saṁyāna (modern Sanjān). The grant was recorded on Monday, the akshaya-tritīyā (Vaiśākha śu. di. 3) in the Śaka year 848, the cyclic year being Vyaya. The date is perfectly regular and corresponds to the 17th April, A.D. 926, which was a Monday and on which day, the third *tithi* of the bright fortnight of Vaiśākha commenced 45 minute after mean sunrise. The cyclic year current then was Vyaya as stated in the grant. There is thus no doubt about the genuineness of the present grant.

The grant opens with two *maṅgala-ślokas*, the first of which is in praise of the Ardhanārīśvara form of Śiva and the second in that of the goddess Mahishāsuramardinī. The latter is at present the *kula-devatā* (family deity) of most of the families in Koṅkaṇ. The third verse is in praise of the sage Agastya, whose commands were obeyed by the lofty mountain (Vindhya) and who drank the whole ocean, placing it in the cavity of his hand. The fourth verse is in praise of the Pañcha-Gauḍīya Mahāparshad (Great Assembly) which used to look after the religious endowments of the city.

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[1] V. V. Mirashi—*Inscriptions of the Kalachuri-Chedi Era*, Part I, pp. 140-41.

As the Arab prince Sugatipa, who issued the present plates, owned the suzerainty of the Rāshṭrakūṭa king Indra III, *alias* Nityavarsha, the grant next proceeds to eulogise him and his ancestors. His genealogy is traced to the mythical ancestor the Moon since the Rāshṭrakūṭas claimed to belong to the lunar race. After such mythical and legendary ancestors as the Moon, Budha, Purūravas, Āyu and Yadu, the grant names the following historical princes—Govinda I; his son Karka I; his son Indra II; his son Dantidurga; his uncle Kṛishṇa I; his son Govinda II; his younger brother Dhruva; his son Jagattuṅga (or Govinda III); his son Amoghavarsha I; his son Kṛishṇa II; and finally his grandson Indra III. The description of the ancestors of Indra III is purely conventional and wholly devoid of historical information, but since the grant was made during the reign of Indra III, it mentions some of his victories. Verse 14 describes him as follows:—

यो नासि(शि)तकामात्मा ग(गृ)हीतडाहालनायककपाल: ।
उत्तरदिग्व(ग्ब)द्धरुची राजति लोके महेश्वरवत् ॥

[Indra III shines in the world like Maheśvara (Śiva); as Śiva destroyed Madana (the god of love), so has Indra vanquished his passions; as Śiva holds a skull in his hand, so had this king (once) taken in his hand the skull of the lord of Ḍāhāla (Chedi country); and (finally) like Śiva he has fondness for the northern direction.]

This verse for the first time mentions Indra's victory over the king of Ḍāhala. Ḍāhala was a name of the ancient Chedi country which included the modern Jabalpur, Damoh and Saugar Districts of Madhya Pradesh as well as Baghelkhaṇḍ comprising the Rewah and other districts. This territory was then under the rule of the Kalachuris who had their capital at Tripurī, about 6 miles from Jabalpur. The Rāshṭrakūṭas were matrimonially connected with the Kalachuris for several generations and helped each other on several occasions.[1] Indra III's own mother and wife were from the Kalachuri family of Tripurī. Till now we have not had even a single reference to the hostilities of these two royal families. The description in the present plates that Indra III cut off the head of the king of Dāhala and took it in his hand appears, *prima facie*, unreliable. The present grant is, however, very carefully written and so the information supplied by it cannot be summarily rejected. The Kalachuri throne was, at this time, occupied by a prince named Bālaharsha, about whom we have very little information. His name is even omitted in one inscription.[2] It is not altogether unlikely that he had some scuffle with Indra III, in which he lost his life.[3]

The description that Indra III was fond of the northern direction is corroborated by other Rāshṭrakūṭa records. Like his illustrious predecessors, Dhruva and Govinda III, Indra III invaded North India and pressed as far as Kanauj which he completely devastated as described in the following verse:[4]

यन्माद्यद्द्विपदन्तघातविषमं कमलप्रियप्राङ्गणं
तीर्णं यत्तुरगैरगाधयमुना सिन्धुप्रतिस्पर्धिनी ।
येनेदं हि महोदयारिनगरं निर्मूलमुन्मूलितं
नाम्नाद्यापि जनैः कुशस्थलमिति ख्यातिं परां नीयते ॥

The grant next gives the genealogy of Indra III's Arab feudatory Sugatipa, who made the donations of the village and the land recorded therein. We are told in verse 17 that by the favour of king Kṛishṇa (II), Madhumati of the Tājika (Arab) race became the ruler of the whole Saṁyāna country. He defeated all rulers of the coastal countries and established his outposts therein. His son was Sahiyārahāra. The latter had a son named Sugatipa, who was also known by another name Madhumati. Sugatipa established a charitable feeding house (*anna-sattra*) at Saṁyāna, made arrangements for fording the rivers flowing nearby, as also provided *mañchas* (floating wooden platforms) for crossing other large streams. The travellers who used to visit Saṁyāna were greatly gratified by the sumptuous food served to them in the *anna-sattra* and loudly sang the praises of the prince Sugātipa. Verse 21 next praises Puvaiyya, the minister of Sugatipa.

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[1] *Inscriptions of the Kalachuri-Chedi Era*, Part I, Introd., p. lxxxi.

[2] *Ibid*., p. 238.

[3] Perhaps the intended sense is that just as Śiva holds a skull in his hand, so Indra accepted the lord of Dāhala as his ally. In the second sense the word *kapāla* (a skull) may not have been intended to be connected with *Ḍāhāla-nāyaka*.

[4] *Ep. Ind*., Vol. VII, p. 38.

The next two verses (22 and 23) describe Puvaiyya's friend Annamaiya or Ānneya, son of Nārāyaṇabhaṭṭa and grandson of Vāsudeva of the Bhāradvāja *gotra* and Maitrāyaṇī Śākhā. He built a temple of the goddess Bhagavatī. For the repairs of this temple as well as for the maintenance of the Pañcha-Gauḍīya Mahāparshad of nine members of Saṁyāna and also of the goddess, Sugatipa, at the pressing request of Annamaiya, made a grant of the village Kāṇāḍuka situated in the *vishaya* (territorial division) of Kolimahāra after obaining previously permission of his liege-lord *Paramabhaṭṭāraka*, *Mahārājadhirāja*, *Parameśvara*, the illustrious Indrarājadeva. Among the boundaries of this village is mentioned the village Kallagrāma. He also donated at the same time some land in the village Devīhara. The grant next states the rights, privileges, and obligations attached to the gift. After the usual benedictive and imprecatory verses is recorded the name of Sugata, the son of the illustrious Dhruvarāja and *Sāndhivigrahika* (Foreign Minister) Ajita, who wrote the grant with the consent of Vathaiya, the *Dhruva* (Revenue Minister) of Saṁyāna, and by the order of the illustrious Sugatipa who had obtained the permission of the illustrious Nityavarsha (i.e. Indra III), who meditated on the feet of the *Parameśvara*, *Paramabhaṭṭāraka* and *Mahārājādhirāja*, the illustrious Akālavarsha (i.e. Krishṇa II). The next verse (35) expresses the hope that the prince Sugatipa who made the grant, his friend Ānneya and two others viz. Revaṇa and Kautuka will live on the best of heavenly mountains (i.e. Kailāsa) for ever. The final verse again expresses the hope that the grant will endure for ever.

This grant is important from several points of view. In the first place it shows that Indra III was ruling in A.D. 926. In his monumental work *The Rāshṭrakūṭas and Their Times* Dr. Altekar assigned only three years' reign to Indra III. Since then it has been shown that records of his reign dated in the Śaka years 842 to 850 (A.D. 920 to 928) have been discovered in Karṇāṭaka and so the limits of his reign must be fixed as A.D. 915 to A.D. 928.[1] In his latest article on the Rāshṭrakūṭa Empire published in the *History and Culture of the Indian People*, Vol. IV, p. 13, Dr. Altekar says that 'Indra died prematurely in A.D. 922.' The present grant shows clearly that he continued to reign till A.D. 926 at least.

It is again noteworthy that though the present grant was made by an Arab prince it is written in good Sanskrit. Madhumati, Sahiyārahāra and Sugatipa are evidently Sanskritized forms of Muhammad, Shariar and Subakta. Sugatipa is clearly stated to have belonged to the Tājika (or Arab) race. Some Arabs evidently sought employment under Indian kings and when they distinguished themselves by their valour, some of them appear to have been placed in charge of *maṇḍalas*. Madhumati (Muhammad), the grandfather of Sugatipa who granted the present plates, had obtained the kingdom of Saṁyāna by the favour of the Rāshṭrakūṭa king Kṛishṇa II.[2] He is said to have vanquished some rulers of the coastal countries. He was evidently fighting for his Rāshṭrakūṭa suzerain. He had no higher privileges than other Hindu princes subordinate to the Rāshṭrakūṭas; for he had to seek the permission of his Suzerain before making a grant of land. Again, his minister was Puvaiyya, Revenue minister Vathaiya, and *Sāndhivigrahika* (Foreign Minister) Ajita. This shows that many, if not all, of his officers were Hindus. Among his subjects there must have been many Muslims, but there is no indication in the present grant that any of his officers were of the Muslim faith. This gives the lie to the following statement of Al Istakhri, "There are Musalmans in the cities (of the land of Balhārā) and none but Musalmans rule over them on the part of the Balhārā." It is again noteworthy that Sugatipa had no objection to the grant being written in Sanskrit and the gift being made in honour of a Hindu goddess. He was evidently as docile and submissive a feudatory as Hindu princes.

The goddess Bhagavatī to whom the gift was made is not named in the present grant, but in other grants discovered at Chiñchaṇī, her temple is called Kautukamaṭhikā, which shows that she may have been known as Kautukadevī. That her form was of the Mahishāsuramardinī type, has been shown above.

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[1] *Ep. Ind.* Vol. XXVI, p. 162.

[2] See below, verse 17.

Though the temple of the goddess Bhagavatī was built by Annamaiya (or Ānneya) of the Bhāradvāja *gotra* and the Maitrāyaṇīya *Śākhā*, its management was entrusted to the Pañcha-Gauḍīya Mahāparshad. At present the Brāhmaṇas are divided into two main groups—Pañcha-Drāviḍa and Pañcha-Gauḍa. The former comprises the five sub-groups of the Āndhra, Drāviḍa, Karṇāṭa, Mahārāshṭra and Gurjara Brāhmaṇas, while the latter includes the other five sub-groups of the Sārasvata, Kānyakubja, Gauḍa, Maithila and Utkala Brāhmaṇas. The information supplied by the present plates that in the tenth century A.D. there was at Sanjān a Pañcha-Gauḍīya Mahāparshad of nine members which looked after the local religious endowments is interesting. There were evidently then in Koṅkaṇ and especially at Sanjān a large number of Gauḍa-Brāhmaṇas who exercised considerable influence on the religious life of the community. Even now there are, in Koṅkaṇ, a large number of Gauḍa-Sārasvata Brāhmaṇas.

There are four place-names mentioned in the present plates viz. Kāṇāḍuka, Kallagrāma, Kolimahāra and Devīhara. Of these, the first may be identical with Kaināḍ, about twelve miles south of Sanjān. The other places cannot, however, be identified in its vicinity.

The Arab feudatories appear to have continued to rule over the Sanjān territory for a considerable time after the issue of the present plates. To the south of this territory was the principality of the Northern Śilāhāras, who ruled from Purī (modern Rājapurī in the former Janjirā State). They too were feudatories of the Rāshṭrakūṭas, whose genealogy is invariably mentioned in their early grants. Though both the Arabs of Sanjān and the Śilāhāras of Purī acknowledged the suzerainty of the Rāshṭrakūṭas, they sometimes clashed with each other. Madhumati, the grandfather Sugatipa, is said to have vanquished the chiefs of the coastal regions, among whom the Śilāhāras were evidently included. After the Rāshṭrakūṭas were overthrown by the Later Chālukyas in *circa* A.D. 973, the Śilāhāras declared their independence and some time thereafter they overran the Sanjān province, deposed the Arab chief and annexed his territory to their own State. In the copper-plate grants issued thereafter, the Śilāhāras are found addressing their commands not only to their own officers and subjects but also to 'the three classes of citizens and others of the city of Haṁyamana.'[1] This place is usually identified with Sanjān, of which it is supposed to be the original form, but Fleet objected to this identification on the ground that 'the usual change is from *s* to *h*, not from *h* to *s*.' He could not, however, propose any other identification. The present plates use both the names, Saṁyāna in lines 20, 26, 31-32, and 62, and Haṁyamana in line 32, where it is coupled with the former. Perhaps Haṁyamana was the name of the province and Saṁyāna was its capital. Notice, however, that Saṁyāna is mentioned as the name of the *Maṇḍala* in line 20. The two names were therefore identical, Haṁyamana being probably the Persian form. According to the Persian poem *Kissāh-i-Sanjān*, written in A.D. 1600, the Parsees who had migrated from the island of Hormuz settled down, in A.D. 766, at a place on the western coast to which they gave the name Sanjān in memory of a place bearing that name in Khorāsān.[2] Why Haṁyamana should, however, be mentioned in the grants of the Śilāhāras has long been a riddle to scholars. Dr. Fleet, who was not disposed to accept its identification with Sanjān, thought that 'the place was some administrative head-quarters of the Śilāhāra princes, apart from their actual capital, where their official records and archives were written and kept, and public notifications were issued about any matter likely to be of any general interest.'[3] This does not appear convincing. The present plates show that the province of Haṁyamana or Saṁyāna was ruled by an Arab Chief. After the downfall of the Rāshṭrakūṭas, the Śilāhāras appear to have annexed it to their kingdom. So their commands were addressed specially to the residents of the town Haṁyamana

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[1] Cf. तथा हंयमननगरपौरत्रिवर्गप्रकृतींश्च समादिशति *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XII, p. 263.

[2] *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XII, p. 258.

[3] *Ibid.*, Vol. XII, p. 259.

(Saṁyāna). The reference to the people of Haṁyamana occurs for the first time in the Thana plates of Arikesarin, dated Śaka 939 (A.D. 1017)[1]. It is not noticed in the earlier Bhādāna plates of Aparājita,[2] dated Śaka 919 (A.D. 997). It seems therefore that Arikesarin conquered the Haṁyamana *maṇḍala* from the Arab Chief and annexed it to his own kingdom. The aforementioned reference to the people of Haṁyamana occurs thereafter in several grants of the Śilāhāras. The Haṁyamana *mandala* was, however, given in charge of a *Māṇḍalika* named Chāmuṇḍarāja as appears from another set of Chiñchaṇī plates, dated Śaka 956 (A.D. 1034).[3]

The present plates thus shed very important light on the history and culture of Koṅkaṇ in ancient times.

TEXT

First Plate

1. Siddhiḥ[4] [1*] Girisutā-Harayor=avibhinnayo=vvi(r=-vvi)harator=niyamātha(rtha)m=avantu vaḥ [1] Sarasa-yāvaka-bhasma-vichitritās=Tri-
2. pathagā-puline pada-paṁktayaḥ[5] ॥ [1 ॥*] Śūla-bhinnasya vinyasto mahishasya va(ba)lād=gale. । Durggāyāḥ pātu vaḥ pādas=ta-
3. d-rakt-ālaktak-āṁkitaḥ[6] ॥ [2 ॥*] Pāyān=munir=Agastyo vaḥ chulukā-pīta-vāridhiḥ. । Dakshiṇ-āśā-mukhe tuṁga-bhūbhṛit-pāli-
4. ta-śāsanaḥ ॥ [3* ॥] Jayatām=Ārya-deśīyā Mahāparshad =aninditaiḥ. । Vinay-āchāra-saujanya-dharmm-opaśamibhir=guṇai-
5. ḥ ॥ [4 ॥*] Abhūd-Bharga-jaṭāja(jū)ṭa-visaṁ(śaṁ)kaṭa-kuṭī-charaḥ । Chandramā jagad-ānanda-kanda-kanda-kandalana-kshamaḥ ॥ [5 ॥*] Tasmād = vu (bu) dho vu (bu) dhādhīśa-
6. s = tataś = ch - ābhūt - Purūravāḥ । Tasmād = Āyur = analpāyus=tato=nye chakravartinaḥ ॥ [6 ॥*] Evam= achchhinna-santāna-jāyamāneshu rājasu ।
7. Yayātir=abhavat=so=pi sutaṁ Yadum=ajījanat ॥ [7 ॥*] Tatas=trilokī-tilakāyamānaḥ prāvarttat=āsau Yadusaṁjña-vaṁ[śaḥ] ।

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[1] *Asiatic Researches*, Vol. I, pp. 357 f.

[2] *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. III, pp. 267 f.

[3] *Annual Report of the Secretariat Report Office, Bombay*, 1955-56, p. 29.

[4] Expressed by a symbol.

[5] Metre: *Drutavilambita*.

[6] Metre of verses 2-7 : *Anushṭubh*.

8. Yatr-ābhilebhe Harir=ātma-janma janm-āntar-ochchhittikaraḥ prajānām[1] ‖ [8 ‖*] Sad=Rāshṭrakūṭ-āparanāmny=amushmin=va(vaṁ)śe Yadūnā-

9. m=ajani kshat-āriḥ । Govindarājas=chatur-avdhi(bdhi)velā-kāṁchī-guṇāyāḥ patir=urvvarāyāḥ[2] ‖ [9‖*] Śrī-Kakka(rkka)rājo=sya suto

10. hat-āris=tasmād-abhūd-Indra iv-Endrarājah । Śrī-Dantidurggo=sya suto va(ba)bhūva śrī-Kṛishṇarajo =nu pitṛivya āsīt ‖ [10 ‖*] Go-

11. vindarājo bhavad=asya putraḥ tasy=ānujo-[bhū]d=Dhruvarājadevaḥ । Tasmāj-Jagattuṅga-dharādharendras=tasy=ātmajaḥ śrīmad-Amo-

12. ghavarshaḥ ‖ [11*] Tasmāch-chhrī-Kṛishṇarājo=bhūd =akṛishṇa-charito vibhuḥ । Dhuran=tasy=oḍhavān =naptā Jagattuṁg-ātmajo nṛipaḥ[3] ‖ [12 ‖*] A-

13. bhyud-dhṛit-āurvvara-bharo haṭhadārit--ari [ḥ*] sachchakra-nandaka-karo Naraksya śatruḥ । Nirmathya vairi-vara-vāridhim=āpta-la-

14. kshmāḥ (kshmīḥ) sākshād=Upendra iva so=bhavad =Iṁdrarājaḥ[4] ‖ [13 ‖*] Yo nāśita-kāmātmā ga(gṛi)hīta-Ḍāhāla-nāya-

15. ka-kapālaḥ । Uttara-dig-va(ba)ddha-ruchī rājati loke Maheśvaravat[5] ‖ [14 ‖*] Śvetimnā meḍureṇa pravara-

16. gaja-ghaṭā divya-mataṁgayaṁtī śailān-Kailaśa(sa)yantī gaganatala-gatān-haṁsayantī sa(śa)kuṁtān ।

Second Plate: First Side

17 pātāle Śeshayantī phaṇi-kulam=akhilaṁ Gaṁgayantī śra(sra)vantir-avdhī(dhi)n=dugdhodayantī bhramati nija-gu-

18. ṇaiḥ saṁbhṛitā yasya kīrttiḥ[6] ‖ [15 ‖*] Tasmin= praśāsati mahīn (hīm) sa mahīdharendrām=indu-dyutau chatur-udanvad-a-

19. nindya-kāṁchīṁ (chīm) । Khaḍg-ābhighāta-vijit-āhita-rājarāja-sāmanta-māṇḍalika-vandita-pāda-padme[7] ‖ [16 ‖*] [Kṛi] shṇarā-

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[1] Metre : *Upajāti.*

[2] Metre of verses 9-11: *Indravajrā.*

[3] Metre: *Anushṭubh.*

[4] Metre: *Vasantatilakā.*

[5] Metre: *Āryā.*

[6] Metre: *Sragdharā.*

[7] Metre: *Vasantatilakā.*

20 ja-day-āvāpta-kṛitsna-Saṁyāna-maṇḍalaḥ । Āsīn-Madhumatiḥ śrīmā [n*] nṛipatis=Tājik-ānvaye[1] ॥ [17॥*] Vijitya kara-daṇḍena sarvva-velā-ku-

21. lādhipān । Nyavīviśat=samaṁ kīrtyā sarvatra karaṇāni yaḥ ॥ [18 ॥*] Ruchyā raṁjita-bhuvano=ruṇa-maṇir=iva Sugatipo dharā-vadhāḥ [1*]

22. Bhūshaṇa-bhutasy=ābhūt=tat-suta-Sahiyārahārasya[2] ॥ [19 ॥*] Krāntvā dharmmatarī-dvayena saritau ma(maṁ) chapprapaṁchaiḥ parāḥ śāly-annaṁ pravibha-

23. jya sūpa-ghṛitavat-satre(ttre) samaṁ shaḍ-rasaiḥ । Nityaṁ yasya nitāṁta-hṛishṭa-manasā kīrtiṁ śaśāṁk-ojva(jjva)lāṁ nānādeśa-viśesha-vedi-

24. di[3]-pathikā vyāvarṇṇayaṁty=uchchakaiḥ[4] ॥ [20 ॥*] Atulya-vudhy (buddhy) = atiśay-ānukṛit-āmararāḍ-guruḥ । Śrī-Puvaiyyo=bhavad=yasya mantrī mantravidā-

25. m-varaḥ[5] ॥ [21 ॥*] Bhāradvāja-kulasya maṇḍana-vidhiḥ śrī-Vāsudevṭātmajaḥ śrī-Nārāyaṇa-bhaṭṭa ity=abhihitas=tasy-ātmajo jātavān ।

26. Ānneyo=bhavad=asya mitram=asamaṁ śrī-Nityavarsh-ānugaḥ Saṁyāne maṭhik-ābhidhānam=atulaṁ yo=chikaran=maṇḍanam[6] ॥ [22॥*] Ten-ā-

27. nila-vilulita-vīchi-jale vibhava-jīvite matvā । Vijñapya Nityavarshaṁ pravarttito bhūmi=dāyo-yaṁ(yam)[7] ॥ [23 ॥*] Ten-āyaṁ śrī-Madhu-

28. maty-apara-nāmnā śrī-Sugatipena Bhāradvāja-maharshi-gotra-tilakāyamāna-Maitrāyaṇi(ṇī)śākhay-opalakshita-sa-vra(bra)hmachāri-śrī-

29. Vāsudev-ātmaja-śrī-Nārāyaṇa-bhaṭṭa-suta-śrīmad-Annamey-oparodhād=etat-kṛita-maṭhikā-saṁskārārtha(thaṁ) tath-ātra-nivāsi-Paṁcha-Gau-

30. ḍīya-Mahāparshado nava-janānāṁ daśamyāś-cha Bhagavatyā var-ākāra-nyāyena sarvv-opakaraṇ-opabhogārtha(rthaṁ) tathā pa(dha)rmma-chi-

31. ra-sthitaye Paramabhaṭṭāraka-Mahārājādhirāja-Parameśvarā śrīmad-Indrarāja-devaṁ vijñapya tad-anumatena śrī-Saṁyā-

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[1] Metre of verses 17 and 18: *Anushṭubh.*

[2] Metre: *Vasantatilakā.*

[3] This *akshara* is Superfluous.

[4] Metre: *Śārdulavikrīḍita*

[5] Read *maṁtravidāṁ varaḥ.* Metre: *Anushṭubh.*

[6] Metre: *Śārdulavikrīḍitā.*

[7] Metre: *Āryā.*

32. na-Haṁyamana-paura-dhruva-vishayik-ādhikārikān=melayitv=eh=aiva Kolimahāra-vishay-āntarvvarti-Kāṇāḍuk-ābhidhāna-

33. grāmaḥ śāsito yatr-āghāṭanāni pūrvvataḥ parvvato=para-vāri-plavaḥ | dakshiṇen=aitan-naga-nirggata-nadīm=ārabhya pāshāṇa-semva(mba)kā-

34. para-bhamma(sma)-ḍoṁgarikā-ḍakshiṇa-bhāgaḥ paśchimato bhamma(sma)-ḍoṁgarikām=ārabhya Kalla-grāma-pūrvva-sīmānta-padra-madhūka-kum [bhi] ka-

35. chi[dbha]vu-hiṁgavāra-dakshiṇa-nadī(dīṁ) yāvad=antarato diguvāra-chava mātādhavārā[1] dakshiṇavāhinī pūrvvāga-bhavā nadī

Second Plate: Second Side

36. evaṁ chatur-aghāṭan-opalakshitaḥ s-odraṁgaḥ sa-parikaraḥ sa-bhoga-bhāgaṇ sa-daṇḍa-daś-āparādhaḥ sa-dhānya-hi-

37. raṇy-ādeyaḥ s-otpadyamāna-vishṭi-pratyāyah s-ābhyantara-siddhir=a-chāṭa-bhaṭa-praveśaḥ sa-vṛikshamal-ākulaḥ

38. sa-sīmā-paryantaḥ nidhān=ālīyaka-kumārī-sāhasa-dosha-traya-varjaḥ ā-chandr-ārkk-ārṇṇava-kshiti-sarit-Sumeru-

39. kulāchala-sama-kālinaḥ grāmo dattas=tathā Devīdhar-ākhya-grāma-madhye bhūmi-dhur-ārddhaṁ cha tad=ayam=asmad-dāyo=

40. smad-vaṁśyair=anyaiś=ch-āgāmi-bhūmipālaiḥ pālayitavyo=numantavyaś=cha | Yata āha | Sva-dattāṁ para-dattāṁ vā

41. yatnād=raksha narādhipa | Mahīṁ mahī-bhṛitāṁ śreshṭha dānāch-chhreyo=nupālanaṁ(nam)[2] || [24||*] Tathā ch=otaṁ(ktam). | Va(ba)hubhir=vvasudhā bhuktā

42. rājabhiḥ Sagar-ādibhiḥ | Yasya yasya yadā bhūmis=tasya tasya tadā phalaṁ(lam) || [25||*] Tathā ch=oktaṁ Rāmabhadreṇa ||

43. Sāmānyo=yaṁ dharmma-setur=nṛipāṇāṁ kāle kāle pālanīyo bhavadbhiḥ | Sarvvān=etaṁ(tān) bhāvinaḥ pāthi(rthi)v-endrān=bhū-

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[1] These eighteen *aksharas* are unintelligible to me.

[2] Metre of verses 24-26: *Anushṭubh*.

44. yo bhūyo yāchate Rāmabhadraḥ || [26 ||*] Agner=apatyaṁ prathamaṁ suvarṇṇaṁ bhūr-Vvaishṇavī Sūryasutāś=cha gāvaḥ | Loka-trayaṁ

45. tena bhaved=dhi dattaṁ yaḥ kāṁchanaṁ gāṁ cha mahīṁ cha dadyāt ||[1] [27||*] Yas=tv=ajñāna-paṭal-ānvita-dṛishṭir=anila-va(ba)l-āhata-sa-

46. rit-taraṁga-bhaṁguraṁ tṛiṇ-āgra-lagn-āvaśyāy-ānavasthiraṁ kari-kalabha-karṇṇ-āgra-lolaṁ śrānta-vihaga-gala-chapalaṁ

47. prakupita-bhujaṁga-jihv-āṁtar-i(ī)kshaṇa-di(dṛi)shṭa-nashṭaṁ prati-kshanam = anavasthita-gati-jivitam=anālochya ih=ā-

48. mutra cha yasaḥ(śaḥ)-saukhya-nidānaṁ dānāt=puṇya-saṁchayam=anādṛity=ādṛishṭa-phal-ānabhijño durmmatir=āchchhi-

49. ndyād=āchhchidyamānaṁ v-ānumodeta sa paṁchabhir=mahopatakais=s-opapatakaiś=cha saṁyu-

50. kta [ḥ*] syād=ity=uktaṁ Bhagavatā veda-vyāsena Vyāsena || Shashtir vvarsha-sahasrāṇi[2] svarge vasa-

51. tibhūmi-daḥ | Āchchhettāṁ(ttā) ch-ānumamtā cha tāny-eve narake vaset[3] || [28 ||*] Vindhya-āṭavīshv=ato-

Third Plate

52. yāsu śushka-koṭara-vāsinaḥ | Kṛishṇ-āhayo hi jāyaṁte bhūmi-dāyaṁ haranti ye || [29 ||*]

53. A-nyāyena hṛitā bhūmir=hāritā v-ānumoditā | Atīt-āgāmi-pāpānāṁ dahaty-ā-

54. saptamaṁ kulaṁ(lam) || [30 ||*] Sva-dattāṁ para-dattāṁ vā yo hareta vasundharāṁ(rām) | Gavāṁ śata-sahasrasya hatuḥ(ntuḥ)

55. harati kilbishaṁ(sham) || [31||*] Jñātv=aivaṁ mat=pradatto=yaṁ bhūmi-dāyo manīshibhiḥ | N-ochchhidyo bhāvi-bhūpālaiḥ sa-

56. rvvair=ātmahit-aishibhiḥ ||[32 ||*] Yān-īha dattāni purā narendrair=ddānāni dharmmātha(rtha)yasa(śa)skarāṇi | Nirmmālya-

57. vāṁta-pratimāni tāni ko nāma sādhuḥ purar=adadīta[4] || [33 ||*] Iti kamala-dal-āmvu(bu)vi(biṁ)du-lolāṁ śriyam-ata(va)lo-

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[1] Metre: *Indravajrā*.

[2] Read *Shashṭiṁ varsha-sahasrāṇi*.

[3] Metre of verses 28-32 : *Anushṭubh*.

[4] Metre: *Indraviajrā*.

58. kya manushya-jīvitaṁ cha | Ati-vimala-manobhir=atmanīnair=nna hi purushaiḥ para-kīrttayo vilopyāḥ[1] || [34 ||*] Śa-

59. ka-narapati-kāl-ātīta-samva(saṁva)tsara-śateshvashṭāsv-ashṭāchatvāri(riṁ)śad-adhikeshu Vaiśākha-śuddh-akshaya-tṛitīyāyāṁ

60. Some a(aṁ)kato-pi samva(saṁva)tsare 848 Vyaya-samva(saṁva)-tsare-vyaya-dharmma-kośa-vṛiddhaye likhitam=ida(daṁ) śā-

61. sanaṁ Parameśvara-Paramabhaṭṭāraka-Mahārājādhirāja-śrīmad-Akālavarshadeva-pād-ānudhyāta-śrī-Nitya-

62. varshadev-ānujñāta-śrī-Sugatip-ājñayā Saṁyāna-dhruva Vathaiy-ānumatena Sugatena śrī-Dhruvarāja-Sāṁdhivigra-

63. hik-Ājita-suten-eti || Yad=atr=on-āksharam-madhik-āksharaṁ vā tat=sarvvaṁ pramāṇam-iti || Grāmaḥ Kāṇāḍuk-ā-

64. khyo vara-dharaṇidhur-ārddhaṁ cha Devīhar-ākhye dattaṁ yen-eha sa śrī-Sugatipa-nṛipatiḥ Sūrya-tejaḥ-(jāḥ)-praśāsti | Ānneyaḥ kīrttanena

65. tribhuvana-jayinā Revanaḥ Kautukaś=cha sārddhaṁ devāḥ prasādād=amara-girivara-sthayukāḥ saṁtu sarvve[2] || [35 ||*] Yāvad=vīchī-taraṁga-pracha-

66. lita-makara-grāha-nakr-ākul-ormmi-vyāviddho dhūta-toya-kshubhita-kalakal-ārāva-raudraḥ samudraḥ | Yāvan-nakshatra-chandra-graha-ga-

67. ṇa-kiran-ālaṁkṛit-āṁgaś=cha Merus=tāvad=devyāḥ prasādād=avihatam=amala(laṁ) śāsanaṁ sthāsnu bhūyāt || [36 ||*] Maṁgalaṁ mahatī cha [śrīḥ] ||

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[1] Metre: *Pushpitāgrā.*

[2] Metre of verses 35 and 36 : *Sragdharā.*

NEW LIGHT ON THE HISTORY OF BIHAR AND THE ORIGIN OF LAKSHMANA SAMVAT

A. S. Altekar

Chag lo-tsa-ba (translator) Chos-rje-dpal (Dharmasvāmin) was one of the numerous pilgrims that visited the Buddhist holy shrines in Bihar. Unlike other Tibetan monk pilgrims, however, he dictated an account of his visit to his disciple Chos-dar, who utilized it to write a biography of his preceptor Chos-rje-dpal. This biography throws considerable and welcome light on the contemporary history, because it refers to the period A.D. 1234-36, when the pilgrim was in India. We have hardly any adequate account of this period coming from the pen of a non-Muslim writer.

The book gives us a valuable glimpse in the contemporary social, religious and cultural conditions also. In this paper I propose to deal with its data pertaining to the political history and Lakshmaṇa Saṁvat. Professor J. N. Banerji spent a life time in trying to elucidate further and further the many-sided history of ancient India. This paper will therefore appear to be a suitable tribute to him from one who has none but pleasant associations with him.

The first ruler mentioned by Dharmasvāmin is king Rāmasiṁha of Tirhut. The name of this ruler is not mentioned in Chap. III, where Tirhut and its capital are first described in detail, but is given in Chap. X, which describes the stay of Dharmasvāmin at his capital during his journey back. This Rāmasiṁha is obviously a king of the Karṇāṭa dynasty of Mithilā founded by Nānyadeva. Nānyadeva ruled from A.D. 1097 to 1147 and his next three successors were Gaṅgadeva, Narasiṁhadeva and Rāmasiṁhadeva. The date of Rāmasiṁhadeva is from A.D. 1227-1285[1] and we can, therefore, well accept the statement of Dharmasvāmin that he had an interview with him in A.D. 1236., when he was on his way back to Nepal and Tibet. The capital of Rāmasiṁhadeva was Simraongarh (Sīmāramagarh).

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[1] R. K. Choudhari in *A.B.O.R.I.*, Vol. XXV, p. 110.

Dharmasvāmin, however, calls it as Pa-ta. Probably Simraongarh was also known as Simraoṇpaṭṭana, and Pa-ta of Dharmasvāmin is an abbreviation of Paṭṭana, its last affix. In Sanskrit, Paṭṭana usually means a capital.[1] Patna was within easy reach of Nepal, and the same is the case of Simraongarh. Our pilgrim met with many Nepalese at Pa-ta.

Dharmasvāmin states that additional precautions had been taken to increase the military guard of the palace, owing to the fear of the Muslims who, during the year, had led an army against the town, but failed to reach it. This statement also is likely to be correct. For a long time the Mithilā kingdom was resisting the Muslim advance. Mohammad Bakhtiyar Khalji took the southern route in his expedition to Bengal, because the kingdom of Mithilā lay across the northern route. Portions of Purnea passed under Mohammad Bakhtiyar in *c.*1200, when Bengal was conquered by him. For a time the position was critical for the Karṇāṭa house, for it was being harassed by the Muslim rulers of both Oudh and Bengal. But Narasiṁhadeva, father of Rāmasiṁha, made an alliance with Sultan Ghyasuddin of Bengal and helped him to capture the whole of Bihar. This must have strengthened his position.[2] Narasiṁhadeva was punished for this impudence by Iltutmish and had to apologize to him. Soon after his death in A.D. 1229 there ensued a period of chaos at Delhi under the inefficient rule of Rukn-ud-din, when the Central Government lost its authority over outlying provinces like Lahore, Multan, Oudh and Bengal. The provincial governors were fighting among themselves. At this time some half-hearted attempt may have been made by Oudh or Bengal to attack Karṇāṭa kingdom and Rāmasiṁha may well have repulsed the army in A.D. 1233 without allowing it to reach his capital.

Dharmasvāmin's statement based upon personal inspection that the palace of Rāmasiṁha was surrounded by seven walls and twenty one ditches and had eleven gates with arches may perhaps be proved to be true by archaeological explorations at Simraongarh.

The second monarch mentioned by Dharmasvāmin is king Buddhasena. He is expressly described as the king of Magadha, residing (i.e. with his capital) at Vajrāsana or Bodh-Gaya. The further information about him that he was a descendent of Rājā Devastirya, who belonged to the family of the Buddha's maternal uncle, is purely legendary and need not detain us. This Rājā had fled at the advent of the Muslim soldiers but returned from his forest retreat when the danger was over. He was coming in a procession of five hundred soldiers on an elephant. He was a Buddhist and when he saw Dharmasvāmin among the spectators, he got down to greet him with the words 'Salutations to the son of the Buddha'. This meeting between king Buddhasena and Dharmasvāmin took place in the rainy season of A.D. 1234.[1]

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[1] Cf. *Paṭṭanam yatra rājadhānī sthitā.*

[2] R. K. Choudhari in *A.B.O.R.I.*, pp. 110 ff.

Dharmasvāmin's account of Buddhasena is unfortunately short, but it serves to elucidate a number of historical puzzles. King Buddhasena, whom he met, is obviously identical with king Buddhasena mentioned in an undated inscription found at Bodh-Gaya[2] and in the Janibigha (Gaya District) inscription of Jayasena,[3] where he figures as the father of the donor. In both these records he is described as Pīṭhīpati and there was considerable speculation among scholars as to the exact location of Pīṭhī. There was a consensus of opinion that Pīṭhī should be somewhere in Bihar, but our author's statement that he was the Raja of Magadha ruling at Vajrāsana suggests that Pīṭhī was merely an abbreviation of Vajrapīṭha and was nothing else than Bodh-Gaya itself.

The Janibigha inscription of Buddhasena's son Jayasena is dated in the year 83 of Lakshmaṇa Saṁvat and this raises a number of issues. The initial year of the Lakshmaṇa Saṁvat is placed by different scholars sometime between A.D. 1108 to 1118-9; the latter date is accepted by the majority. Jayasena, the donor of Janibigha inscription is the son of Buddhasena, whom our author had met in A.D. 1234. Now if we assume, as is done by most scholars, that the Lakshmaṇa saṁvat was started in A.D. 1118-9 the date of

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[1] The date of the birth of Dharmasvāmin is quite definite and so is the date of his meeting with king Buddhasena.

[2] *I.A.*, XLVIII, p. 45.

[3] *J.B.R.S.*, IV, p. 266, 279; *I.A.*, XLVIII, p. 47.

Jayasena, as given by the Janibigha inscription, would be Lakshmaṇa Saṁvat 83 or A.D. 1201-2. His father Buddhasena must have died or abdicated before A.D. 1201 and Dharmasvāmin could not have met him as king in A.D. 1234 when he visited Bodh Gaya. One way out of the difficulty is to assume that Buddhasena, whom Dharmasvāmin met, was the son and successor of Jayasena, who could have ruled at Bodh-Gaya between A.D. 1220 to 1240 and met our author. In India the custom of naming a grandson after the grandfather is quite common. There is, however, no evidence to show that Jayasena of Janibigha inscription had a son named Buddhasena.

The origin of the Lakshmaṇa Saṁvat, however, is shrouded in considerable mystery. It could hardly have been started in 1118-9 when Lakshmaṇasena is said to have been born, because two other Sena rulers Vijayasena and Ballālasena were on the throne between A.D. 1120 and 1179. No Sena king, not even the two sons of Lakshmaṇasena ever used this era. In Bengal it was not in vogue till *c.* A.D. 1500.

There is another serious difficulty in assuming that the year 83 of Lakshmaṇa Saṁvat occurring in the Janibigha inscription has to be referred to the era founded in A.D. 1118-9. The Janibigha inscription mentions Buddhasena as the father of Jayasena. His date should, therefore, be *c.* 50 to 75 of the Lakshmaṇa Saṁvat. Now we have two inscriptions at Bodh-Gaya recording the donations of king Aśokachalla from Sapādalaksha in the Punjab. One of them is dated in the year 51[1] and the other in the year 74[2] of the Lakshmaṇa Saṁvat. Aśokachalla of Sapādalaksha was thus a contemporary of Buddhasena of Gaya. Now we have a third inscription at Bodh-Gaya, which also refers to Aśokachalla, who can be none other than Aśokachalla of the two inscriptions mentioned above. This inscription is dated in the year 1813 of the Parinirvāṇa of the Buddha.[3] Gaya was at this period under considerable Ceylonese influence; none but Ceylonese monks could carry out the worship of the Buddha or sleep in the courtyard of the temple. The date of Parinirvāṇa current in Gaya must, therefore, have been the one accepted by the Ceylonese tradition, viz. 544 B.C. The year 1813 of the Buddha era would thus correspond with A.D. 1269.[1] If we assume that the Lakshmaṇa era of the Bodh-Gaya inscription of Aśokachalla, dated 51, started in A.D. 1118-9; then his earliest year would be A.D. 1169 and the latest one, 1813 of the Buddha era would be 1269. We shall have to assume that he had a reign, not a life, of more than hundred years, which is almost impossible.

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[1] *E.I.*, XII, p. 29.
[2] *Ibid.*, p. 30.
[3] *I.A.*, X, p. 342.

Some clue to the solution of the difficulty is offered by the language used to denote the Lakshmaṇa Saṁvat in the three Bodh-Gaya records:—

1. *Śrīmat-Lakshvaṇa(kshmaṇa)senasyātita-rājya Saṁ.* 51[2]
2. *Śrīmat-Lakshmaṇasena-deva-pādānam atītarājya saṁ.* 74
3. *Lakshmaṇasenasyātītarājye Saṁ.* 83

Vidyavinod has no doubt translated the first of the above expressions as 'of the year 51 since the (commencement of the) reign (now) past of the illustrious Lakshmaṇasena',[3] but this interpretation is clearly forced and unnatural. The era obviously refers to an era connected with the end of dominion of king Lakshmaṇasena. People were usually accustomed to count years with reference to the prosperous and victorious reign of a living king referred to as *Pravardhamānavijaya-rājya*; but the ruling kings now happened to be foreign iconoclasts. People in South Bihar[4] therefore seem to have preferred to refer to the past rule of Lakshmaṇasena, who had apparently made a deep impression on the public mind. Later on, the idea of an era to mark the extinction of the kingdom of Lakshmaṇasena was given up in favour of an era to mark his birth; and hence the later inscriptions presuppose its beginning at *c.* A.D. 1118-9.

If we accept this hypothesis, all known facts of history can well be explained. The year 83 for Jayasena would correspond to *c.* A.D. 1283. His reign period may be placed between 1260 to 1285, and that of his father Buddhasena between 1230 and 1260. Dharmasvāmin could therefore well have seen him in Bodh-Gaya in A.D. 1234. The dates of Aśokachalla of Sapādalaksha country in Lakshmaṇa Saṁvat 51 and 74 would be *c*. A.D. 1251 and *c*. 1274. His date in Nirvāṇa Saṁvat 1813 would be A.D. 1269. It thus falls within the known span of his rule. During the period 1240 to 1270, according to the Muslim historians, there was considerable unrest in the Doab. The roads were unsafe; Hindu Zemindars were up-in-arms and several expeditions had to be sent to chastize the rebellious Rājās and Zemindars of the Doab and the contiguous parts of the country. There is nothing improbable in a king of Sapādalaksha country, assuming the imperial title Mahārājādhirāja, exercising sway over feudatories like Purushottamasiṁha and occasionally proceeding to Bodh-Gaya to pay his respects to Vajrāsana and make donations to the Buddha temple there.

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[1] If we assume the date 483 B.C. for the Parinirvāṇa, then the date of Aśokachalla will be 1330 A.D., which is altogether unacceptable.

[2] *E.I.*, XII, 29.

[3] *E.I.*, XII, 30.

[4] In Bengal also there were started some eras like Ballāli Saṁvat and Parganāti-Saṁvat, whose initial years were 1199 and 1202-3. R. C. Majumdar, *History of Bengal*, I, p. 235.

CONTRIBUTION OF BUDDHISM TO LETTERS

Nalinaksha Dutt

The contribution of Buddhism to Indian culture is varied and considerable, and extended over fifteen hundred years. In the development of Indian literature, Buddhism was ushered in at a time when, it seems, there was a lull in the literary activities of the Brāhmaṇic writers and philosophers. After a vigorous production of the *Vedas*, *Brāhmaṇas*, *Śrautasūtras*, *Āraṇyakas* and *Upanishads*, there was a gap for about two or three centuries till the appearance of the *Dharmasūtras*, *Gṛhyasūtras* and *Dharmaśāstras*, *Artha* and *Nīti śāstras* and the Epics. The gap was partially filled up by the *Tripiṭaka*, and perhaps other Prakrit texts, now extinct. The development of Buddhist Sanskrit texts began in the pre-Christian era and reached the climax during the Gupta period, side by side with the efflorescence of the Classical Sanskrit literature. If the traditional dates of Aśvaghosha, Mātṛceṭa and Nāgārjuna be accepted, the Buddhists may claim to be the pioneers of *kāvya* literature and elegant devotional lyrics and brilliant dialectical poetry.

Gautama Buddha's early converts were mostly erudite members of Brāhmaṇic families, well-versed in the Brāhmaṇic *śāstras*. It was perhaps at their instance that there was a proposal before the Teacher to put his teachings in the metrical Sanskrit language[1]. It was turned down with the pregnant remark, "Learn the words of Buddha in one's own dialect", made by the great man with a prophetic vision in order that his teachings might be easily comprehended by all men, literate or illiterate, a northerner or a southerner; an easterner or a westerner. The emphasis laid by the Buddhists on the use of Prākṛts for literary works led also Aśoka to use a dialect in his inscriptions and this practice of using Prākṛts in inscriptions continued for sometime till it was superseded by Sanskrit. The Jainas too followed the Buddhists in having their literature in Ardha-māgadhī to be followed by a vast number of Sanskrit works, as was the case also with the Buddhists. It was this far-sighted dictum of the Teacher that made the Buddhist literature grow and spread widely, not only in India but also in countries outside India. It was as a result of this wise dictum that there is extant today a vast literature in Pali, mixed Sanskrit, pure Sanskrit, Kuchean, Khotanese and Uigur, Sinhalese, Burmese, Siamese, Tibetan, Chinese, Mongolian and Japanese. There were also treatises in other dialects, and along with their loss, dialect also became totally extinct. Had it not been for the Central Asian finds of manuscripts in Eastern Turkestan of the Buddhist texts in Kuchean, Khotanese and Uigur, and particularly of bilingual manuscripts, the dialects as well as the texts would have remained a forgotten chapter in the history of Buddhist literature, as has been the case with the Andhra commentaries written at Kāñcīpura (Conjeevaram) in South India and consulted by the Sinhalese commentators and Buddhaghoṣa in the 5th century A.D. The monasteries at Amarāvatī and Nāgārjuni-koṇḍa in Andhra grew into large and important academic monasteries from the 2nd century B.C. and the inscriptions of the Sātavahana period refer to the Piṭakan texts as *Dīgha*, *Majhima*, *Saṃyuta*, and *Paṃcamātuka*.

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[1] *Vinaya*, II, p. 139: Tena kho pana samayena Yamelutekulā nāma bhikkhu —brāhmaṇajātikā kalyāṇavācā kalyāṇavākkarṇā—bhagavantam etad avocuṃ; etarahi bhante bhikkhu nānānāmā nānāgottā nānājaccā nānākulā pabbajitā te sakāya niruttiyā buddhavacanaṃ dūsenti. handa mayaṃ bhante buddhavacanaṃ chandaso āropemā ti. vigarahi buddho bhagavā—anujānāmi bhikkhave *sakāya niruttiyā buddhavacanaṃ paryāpuṇitun ti.*

By "chandaso" is meant Vedic metrical Sanskrit, cf. *Suttanipāta*, 568 : Sāvittī chandaso mukhaṃ.

The first Mahāyāna text *Prajñāpāramitā* is said to have been composed in this area, and in fact the seed of Mahāyānism, which grew into a huge tree, was sown here by the precursors of Mahāyāna, the Mahāsaṅghikās and their offshoots. It was the monks of this area, who must have sailed to Burma and Indonesian countries to propagate the Buddhist literature there. Lastly, Buddhaghoṣa and Dharmapāla, the renowned Pali commentators, had their education at a monastery in Kāñcī, and made a formidable addition to the Pali literature in the shape of commentaries and also independent treatises, all written in Ceylon, to which place was shifted the home of Pali literature.

The Buddhist literature, though ostensibly religious, deals mainly with ethics, logic and philosophy, and to a certain extent with economic, social, medical and astrological topics, and includes voluminous works on folk-lore. It began with prose interspersed with poetry and a few poetical works, and gradually developed mixed compositions of prose and poetry, devotional lyrics, and philosophical poetry, and one or two religious dramas. Its style in the beginning was simple and direct with frequent repetitions and abundant similies taken from everyday life in order to create a firm impression on the mind of young disciples, but in course of time, it became highly complex, terse, and metaphorical, requiring not only learned expositions but also glosses on expositions.

The Buddhist literature may broadly be divided on the basis of language into three categories, viz., Pali, Mixed Sanskrit and Pure Sanskrit. "Pali" means to us the language, while it denoted the scriptures at the time of Budhaghoṣa, who referred to the language of the scriptures as Magadhabhāṣā. "*Pālimattaṁ idhānitaṃ*" in the Ceylonese chronicles means that the original texts or sayings of Buddha were only brought to Ceylon. It may be that Pali language, as we understand the term, had its origin in Magadha, but modern scholars are of opinion that it developed in Madhya Bharat around Sāñchi, and migrated thence westward and southward, and ultimately to Ceylon, where it found a second congenial home as a sacred language, and it was from Ceylon that the language passed to Burma and Siam. This language is also artificial, being based strictly on the rules of grammar, compiled on the lines of Sanskrit grammar and hence it does not conform literally to the dictum of the Founder of Buddhism.

The earliest version of the *Buddha-vacana*, however, is to be found only in the Pali Piṭakas. Though some portions may be attributed to a later date and their authorship to Buddha's disciples, it may be stated with confidence that the original teachings of Buddha have been accurately preserved in them. Particularly in those Sūtras and passages which appear in identical language in the discourses e.g. the *Satipaṭṭhāna sutta* in several places, either in extenso or very briefly, there is hardly any difference in the expositions. In some *Suttas*, it has been enlarged with comments or extraneous matters, while in others appear the sum and substance without, however, any alterations in the terms. A modern critic may find fault with the artificial arrangement of discourses in the *Saṃyutta* and *Aṅguttara Nikāyas*, but we have to consider that these were some of the expedients resorted to by the monks for preserving the teachings in memory accurately, and this purpose seems to have been well-served by these two Nikāyas. The *Khuddaka Nikāya* is the largest, while the *Dīgha* is the smallest, in extent with some suttas smaller even than those of *Majjhima*. Hence, the terms, *Dīgha*, *Majjhima* and *Khuddaka* did not refer to the size of the compilation or of the discourses, but indicated only the earliest or the first, middle or the second and the latest or the last collection respectively. This interpretation removes the anomaly of the use of the term *Khuddaka* for as many fifteen independent texts, ranging from the earliest to the latest compositions, from prose to poetry, from ethics to popular tales. It also includes a commentary on the text belonging to the same *Nikāya*. After making the four broad classifications, the arranger of texts used the work "*Khuddaka*" to mean miscellaneous texts, which could not be included in the other four classifications.

The three Piṭakas are very well defined as far as the subject matter is concerned. The *Sutta-piṭaka* presents us with a comprehensive exposition of the Buddhist ethics, meditational practices and philosophy, along with an account of the growth of the religion, as also of the contemporary social, political, economic and religious condition of Northern India, particularly of the doctrines of the six non-Buddhist teachers, the ascetic practices, and the ways of life of the wandering recluses (*paribbājakas*).

The *Vinaya-piṭaka* deals with the history of the gradual growth of the Saṅgha, the monastic rules and regulations, and the procedure for ecclesiastical acts and punishments. It is rather surprising to find the minute details, in which the instructions were given for an effective control on the daily life of the monks and nuns. The insistence on the keen observation of the code of monastic laws was the backbone of Buddhism, as it was the Buddhist monasteries that nurtured the spiritual and cultural aspects of the religion and built up ideal monks and nuns, who held and carried the torch of Buddhism within and outside India. The life of Buddhism, in fact, depended on monasteries and lasted as long as the monasteries maintained their ideals. The Mahāyānists brought about changes in philosophy, but adhered to the old monastic system and did not compile a separate monastic code of their own. The *Vinaya-piṭaka* therefore serves as the frame-work to reserve the spirit of the religion.

The third section of the Buddhavacana, the *Abhidhamma-piṭaka*, as the title implies, is more or less an exegetical literature composed for a better comprehension of the *Sutta-piṭaka*. As is the characteristic with the learned Indian commentators, an exegesis is not a mere interpretation of the texts, but also contain detailed analysis and allied discussions. Buddha's emphasis was on the control of mind (*citta*), and so the analytical study of mind received the utmost attention in some of the texts of the *Abhidhamma piṭaka*. But the analysis of the mental states is confined to those of a meditating monk, and not of the mind of a common man. The *Abhidhamma* texts are often described as books of psychology, though they have nothing in common with modern science of psychology. In Buddhaghoṣa's comments, there is a scientific psychological approach and these deserve our special attention. This *Piṭaka* contains also a book on logic, but not so devoloped, as it should be, and a valuable treatise refuting by logical arguments the doctrinal views of the non-Theravāda sects.

This is, in short, our Pāli Canon, which had its origin in India in pre-Aśokan days and was handed down orally for generations till it was put into writing in Ceylon in the first century B.C. A few monasteries in South India maintained the study of the Pāli Piṭaka upto the 5th century A.D., as is proved by the biography of Budhaghosha.

The non-canonical works in Pāli, except the *Milindapañha*, *Nettippakaraṇa* and *Peṭakopadesa* were written by a few very distinguished scholars of Southern India, who began their Pali studies at Kāñchī, but mastered the canonical literature in Ceylon. Of these scholars the outstanding figure is Budhaghoṣa, who wrote most of the commentaries on the canonical texts, on the basis of the old commentaries (*aṭṭhakathās*) preserved in Tamil and Sinhalese languages. His *Visuddhimagga* is a masterpiece, offering the gist of the Buddhavacana under the three heads: moral practices, (*sīla*), mental states and meditational exercises (*citta*) and analytical knowledge (*paññā*) of the constituents of beings. It was taken to China and abridged into a text called *Vimuttimagga*. He wrote another treatise called *Ñāṇodaya*. He was followed by Dhammapāla, a native of Kāñcīpura (Badaratittha) who went to Ceylon and studied the Pali scriptures at Mahāvihāra in Ceylon. He wrote as many as fourteen books, mostly commentaries (*Aṭṭhakathās*) and sub-commentaries (*Ṭīkās*). Buddhadatta, another distinguished scholar of South India (Uragapura), who also had his education at Mahāvihāra, wrote the well-known Pāli texts *Abhidhammāvatāra* and *Vinaya-viniccaya* and a commentary on *Buddhavaṃsa*. The fourth distinguished Indian author Kassapa, a poet of the Cola country, wrote *Anāgatavaṃsa* dealing with the future Buddha Metteya and one or two commentaries.

The contribution of the Ceylonese authors to non-canonical Pāli literature is also considerable, specially in the field of the histories of religion and literature, magical hymns (*parittas*) and grammar. The outstanding work is the *Mahāvaṃsa* written by Mahānāma in the 5th century A.D. dealing with the history of Buddhism in India upto Aśoka, and then with its history in Ceylon upto 302 A.D. The history was carried on further in a supplementary work entitled *Cūlavaṃsa*. The fine diction and elegant sonorous language of the *Mahāvaṃsa* superseded earlier work, *Dīpavaṃsa*, also written in Ceylon. The Ceylonese authors, unlike the Indians, were interested in writing histories of the religion and literature. Besides the above mentioned three works, they produced also *Dāṭhāvaṃsa* (history of the Tooth-relic), *Vaṃsatthappakāsini*, a commentary on the *Mahāvaṃsa*, *Thupavaṃsa*, *Hatthavanagalla-vihāravaṃsa*, *Sāsanavaṃsadīpa*, *Saddhammasaṅgaha* and *Ariyavaṃsa*. The Ceylonese writers were keenly interested in Pali Grammar, and composed a number of grammars (for details, see Malalasekera, *Pali Literature of Ceylon*). There are two Vinaya texts, called *Khuddasikkhā* and *Mūlasikkhā* written by Dhammasāmi and Mahāsāmi of Anurādhapura respectively, on which commentaries were written by Vacissara and Sāriputta, and three Abhidhamma texts, entitled *Abhidhammadhasaṅgaha*, *Saccasaṅkhepa* and *Khemappakaraṇa* (*Nāmarūpasamāsa*) written by Anuruddha, and Culla Dhammapāla and Khema Thera respectively. Moggallāna compiled the *Abhidhānappadipikā*, a Pali dictionary on the lines of Sanskrit *Amarakosha*, and Atthadassi Thera a poetical work on medicine called *Bhesajjamañjusā*.

It is not exactly known when Buddhism was first propagated in Burma. There is the traditon that Aśoka sent his missionaries to Suvaṇṇabhūmi, but there is no clear evidence to show that it was Burma. It is very likely that Upper Burma came in close contact with India through Bengal and Assam and accepted at first the form of Tantric Buddhism that was prevalent in those countries. About the 10th century A.D. Lower Burma received a second wave of Buddhism from South India and Ceylon, and it was this wave that carried the Pali literature first to Lower Burma and thence to Upper Burma.

The Burmese language being agglutinative, the monks experienced some difficulty in studying Pali texts, and so they prescribed that the Pali grammar must be studied first. As a result, excellent Pali grammars were written by the Burmese authors. Aggavaṃsa being the first grammarian (1154 A.D.), to write the *Saddanīti*. He was the tutor of King Narapatisithu, who ruled from 1167-1202 A.D. This grammar was taken to Ceylon by Capaṭa or Saddhammajotipāla, who received his further training in Mahāvihāra of Ceylon. On his return to Burma, he wrote the grammer called *Kaccāyana-sutta-niddesa*. In the 13th and 14th centuries, a number of Pali grammars were written in Burma (for details, see Mabel Bode, *Pali Literature of Burma*).

Next to Grammar, the attention of the Burmese monks was drawn to the *Abhidhamma-piṭaka*. Capaṭa wrote the *Saṅkhepavaṇṇanā*, a commentary on Anuruddha's *Abhidhamma-*

ṭṭhasaṅgaha, which he must have studied in Ceylon. His other works on Abhidhamma were *Mātikatthadipaṇi* and *Paṭṭhānagaṇānaya*. The next distinguished writer on Abhidhamma was Ariyavaṃsa (15th century) who wrote a gloss *Maṇisāramañjushā* on the *Abhidhammatthavibhāvani* and another *Maṇidīpa* on the *Atthasālini*. In the 16th Century Saddhamālaṅkāra wrote the *Paṭṭhanasāradipani*, on which Mahānāma (or Mahānanda) wrote a *ṭīkā* entitled *Madhusāratthadipani*. Tipitakālaṅkāra was another erudite young scholar, who wrote a commentary on the introductory verses of the *Atthasālini*, and was fond of studying the *Abhidhamma-piṭaka*. Of the theras of Sagaing, the centre of Abhidhamma studies, Tilokaguru composed glosses on *Dhātukathā*, *Yamaka* and *Paṭṭhāna*.

For making the Abhidhamma easily comprehensible the monks of Sagaing commenced writing *Nissayas* (Burmese paraphrases or explanation) of the Pali text of Abhidhamma. There were as many as 23 *Nissayas* on *Abhidhammatthasaṅgaha* alone.

There were a few writers who were interested in the *Jātakas* and *Vinaya*, but they took greater interest in the compilation of the *Nīti* literature and the law-codes derived from Sanskrit sources like the *Hitopadeśa* and *Mānava-dharmaśāstra* respectively.

Ceylon has not only given us back the Indian Pali literature, but has made to it substantial contributions in the shape of commentaries and independent texts. Burma also has in its own way given us back some thing more than we could give. The Pali literature represents however only one aspect of Buddhism, the Theravāda. Fortunately, Nepal preserved for us some Sanskirt manuscripts and was able to open up a new aspect of Buddhism. The Buddhist Sanskirt literature which spread all over Northern India was vast and Nepal could furnish us only with a fraction of it. Still, we are grateful to Nepal for all that we have got, as otherwise, this aspect of Buddhism also would have remained unknown to us. An idea of the vastness of this Sanskrit literature can be formed from the number of texts and volumes of their translations in Tibetan and Chinese. There are extant in Tibetan as many as 4567 texts in 325 bundles of 300 to 400 leaves or

700 to 800 pages each, and likewise in Chinese there are 2184 texts printed closely in 55 volumes in small letters. The Tibetans have not preserved the earlier literature, i.e. the *Āgamas* and *Vinayas* excepting one complete *Vinaya* set of the Sarvāstivādins. There are several common texts in Tibetan and Chinese, and so roughly, it may be estimated that about 6000 books existed in Sanskrit. A few of these have been discovered in Central Asia and Gilgit, and a few others, very important texts, still lying in Tibetan temples, have been rescued.

The Sanskrit texts of the Buddhists may be classified linguistically as (*i*) "Good simple Sanskrit with correctly Sanskritized Prakrit or Pali words", (*ii*) "Mixed Sanskrit" as coined by Senart and wrongly changed into "Hybrid Sanskrit" by Prof. Edgerton, which does not conform to the Paninian rules or any other grammatical system, and (*iii*) "Highly philosophical terse Sanskrit" without any grammatical flaw. To the first and the third category belongs the canonical and non-canonical literature of the Sarvāstivādins, while to the second belong mainly versified Mahāyāna texts, and to the third category belong all logical and philosophical texts both Hīnayānic or Mahāyānic. Besides the above three categories of Sanskrit texts, there are a few texts in very old Bengali, dealing with the latest aspect of Buddhism, popular in Bengal.

DVĀ SUPARNĀ SAYUJĀ

SUKUMAR SEN

DIDACTIC animal tales are one of the main contributions of India to world literature. Such stories go back to a few centuries before Christ. The existence of such animal tales has not been traced in Vedic literature. The following, however, is a venture in that direction.

There is a verse in a mystic hymn of the *Ṛgveda* (i. 164. 20) where we find a rudimentary, symbolised parable of two friendly, companion birds, one eating sweet fruit and the other merely looking on. The verse is wellknown as it is quoted in some of the *Upanishads*.

duā suparṇā sayujā sakhāyā
samānaṃ vṛkshaṃ pari shvasvajāte
tayor anyah pippalam svādu atti
anaśnaun anyo abhi cākaśīti

"Two (supernatural) birds, united and friendly, have perched on the same tree. One of them eats sweet fruit and the other, not eating, looks on."

The story is not continued in the next verse but there is no doubt that there was originally a story, as the first half of the next verse indicates:

yatrā suparṇā amṛtasya bhāgam
animeshaṃ vidathābhisvaranti

"where the supernatural birds vigilantly and companionably partake of the ambrosia".

It is probable that the story unrecorded in RV continued in folk literature, and I propose to trace its development in *Pañcatantra.*[1] Here the story runs as follows:

ekodarā pṛthaggrīvā anyānyaphalabhākshiṇaḥ
asaṃhatā vinaśyanti bhāruṇḍā iva pakshiṇaḥ.

iha hi kasmīṃścit sarasi bharuṇḍā nāma pakshiṇaḥ prativasanti sma teshām udaram ekaṃ grīve ca dve pṛthak pṛthak bhavatah. atha teshāṃ madhyāt kasyāpi pakshiṇaḥ svecchayā viharata ekayā grīvayā kvāpy amṛtaṃ prāptam. atha dvitīyagrīvayā *kopāt kuto'py anvishya bhakshite visha ekodaratvān mṛtyur-abhavat.*

"Disunited persons come to grief like the Bhāruṇḍa birds, having one stomach but two heads[2] and eating fruit either-way."

"There lived in a certain lake some birds known as Bhāruṇḍa. They each had one stomach but two separate heads.[2] Now, as he was moving aimlessly, one of the heads picked up somewhere a nectarian fruit.[3] Then the other (head) asked, 'Give a share to me also'. Now as he[4] did not share (it), the other head out of spite picked up poison from somewhere and ate it. There was death (for both the heads) because of their common stomach".

In Vedic literature *suparṇa* means a mythical or supernatural bird. *Bhāruṇḍa* (or *bhāraṇḍa*) occuring in *Mahābhārata*, and in the story quoted above certainly indicates a mythical bird. I suspect that *sayujā* in the Vedic passage should be taken in a literal sense, i.e. "bodily attached" or "physically united" the same as *edodara* in the *Pañcatantra* story. Otherwise *sakhāyā* becomes redundant.

NOTES

[1] The *Pañcatantra* (Purṇabhadra's recension), J. Hertel, Harvard Oriental Series, Vol. XI, p. 127.

[2] Originally "necks".

[3] Literally "nectar".

[4] Literally "she" (*grīvā* is feminine).

RECENT STRIDES IN THE STUDY OF SANSKRIT ANTHOLOGY

Sivaprasad Bhattacharyya

It is hazardous to define precisely the period when anthologies were regarded as an integral and by no means a trivial part in *Kāvya* literature. Suffice it to say that they were recognised in the early centuries of the Christian Era, if not earlier. Bhāmaha, the earliest known of the poeticists, who lived near about the sixth century, knew (*Kāvyālankāra* I. 18) the *anibaddha* (not coordinated into a bigger whole) as one of the five recognised varieties of *kāvya*. Daṇḍin (7th cent. latter half) (*Kāvyā*. I. 13) knew *koṣa* and *saṁghāta* to be two distinct varieties, which a later author differentiates by way of indicating the latter as *Meghadūta Vṛndāvanādi*[1] and the former as *Amaruśatakādi*. Rājaśekhara[2] (*c.* 900 A.D.) is aware of numberless poets who wrote *kāvyas*, which may be included in the former variety, the literary worth of which was acclaimed by his illustrious predecessor, Ānadavardhana,[3] a view which Hemacandra corroborates (*Kāv. anu.* VIII.) Bhoja (11th cent. 1st half) (*Śr. Prakāśa*. ch. XI, *vide* in V. Raghavan's Detailed Notice of Contents, p. 28) adds to Daṇḍin's two varieties, a third one which he names as *saṁhitā*. Viśvanātha[4] (14th cent. 1st quarter) is aware of the subdivisions (*vrajyā*) of such anthologies, which he recognises as quite charming (*atimanorama*). His contemporary, (earlier contemporary), Vidyānātha does not mention such compositions as they are not *prabandhas*. He presumably appreciates the difficulties of such poets being known and remembered by name—for before his time compiled anthologies had appeared and differed in their ascription of individual verses, even in the case of the well known ones. The great Ānandavardhana[5] had hinted at this difficulty in the matter of ascription of a verse which he thinks to be of Dharmakīrti, an honoured name in Sanskrit anthology, because of its similarity in mentality (*āśaya*) with another recognised verse of his. Even in the case of such works, which tradition and unimpeachable internal evidence have regarded as coming from one unitary poet, there have been voices of dissent. A later poet[6] uses very harsh language against those who plagiarise them and pass them off as their own compositions. Still, the practice of poets composing in this vein, has continued and 'full many a gem of purest ray serene' has gone unnoticed. The Indian poeticists' age-old precept and practice of noticing *kāvya* as a *vākya* is a confirmation of the worth that lies in-many of them. It is the culturred assembly (*vidagdhagoṣṭhī*)[7] that strove to hand them over to posterity. The enlightened monarch, a prototype of whom was the great Bhoja[8], influential ministers of state, an enlightened connoisseur, be he a householder or a monk living an ascetic's life in a secluded monastery that has taken a hobby to preserve them, are those that have been instrumental in keeping the torch aflame, just as the ravages of time due to bad climatic conditions and lukewarm encouragement[9] are what have contributed to their decay and disorganised preservation.

This anthology literature won ready acceptance in other countries such as Tibet, where Indian literature and culture penetrated through the efforts of monks, as is evidenced by the *Śubhāṣitaratnanidhi* of Sāśka Paṇḍita with its definite moralistic tinge. In modern times the generality of western Indologists has taken to it readily and placed its study on secure footing at a time when such studies were languishing in this land. Theodor Aufrecht, with monumental patience and unfeigned love for the subject, as is evidenced by his numerous articles in the *ZDMG* (vols. XXVII, XXXVI, XXXIX), by his ms. no. 36, in which were entered the *pratīkas* of all verses occurring in the *kāvyas* and in *Alaṁkāra* texts, available to him, and by his entries in the Cat. did a pioneer's work; and Otto Bohtlingk by his edition of the *Indische Spruche* (in three vols. St. Petersburg, 1870/73) of verses from the *Śatakas* of Amaru, Bhartṛhari and Silhaṇa and from the gnomic and didactic verses in the *Pañcatantra* and the *Hitopadeśa*, as well as from a mss. (in Bengali script, dated Śaka 1721) in the Roer collection of a voluminous Sanskrit anthology, the *Subhāṣitārṇava*[10], was the first to indicate in print the richness and variety of this literature, though not known in its fulness and antiquity. Peter Peterson by his

Reports on the Search of Sanskrit Mss. in the Bombay Presidency, notably the Second and Fourth Reports, and by his edition of the *Śārṅgadharapaddhati* (Bombay, 1868) and of the *Subhāṣitāvalī* of Vallabhadeva (Bombay, 1886) with a long introductory account of the poets concerned, did splendid work and sought to dispel the apathy which the first batch of European scholars, like Fitz-Edward Hall, sought to create by their prejudiced statements.[11] R. G. Bhandarkar by his *Reports* (1886-1892, 1897) brought to light several works and collections, like the *Sūktimuktāvalī* of Jalhaṇa, a voluminous collection known in at least two impressions of different times, and the *Subhāṣitāvalī* of Vallabhadeva. R. Simon by his edition of the *Amaruśataka* (Kiel, 1893) and R. Sochonfeld by his edition (Leipzig, 1914) of the *Śāntiśataka*, another popular anthology, both claiming to be deemed as unitary collections in orthodox Indian tradition, have followed the lead and helped to propagate its study.

F. W. Thomas by his edition of what was until recently known as the *Kavīndravacanasamuccaya*, published in the *Bib. Indica* under the auspices of the Asiatic Society, Calcutta in 1912, gave the desired impetus to this study both in India and abroad. By his manner of approach[12], his method and his long and informative introduction (which is not out of date even now, except in a few cases) giving the account of the poets with *pratīkas* of verses ascribed to them in that work and elsewhere, he has shown admirably how an edition of such works should be undertaken. The exegetical notes, which (except in some cases) are scholarly, brief, suggesive and inspiring to the reader, are a model by themselves because of their sense of proportion, æsthetic outlook and 'the western attitude' of approach. In the matter of presentation of readings from various sources this edition has set the ideal for later editors. The Nirnayasagar Press (Bombay) by their authoritative edition of the *Kāvyamālā* (in 14 *gucchas*) had ushered in the healthy practice of engaging the attention of the general reader of Sanskrit by the publication of unitary *kāvyas* (*saṁghātakāvyas*) from mss., reports on which were made available by earnest and devoted scholars. As for anthologies of individual verses they have done similar and well-planned work in the *Subhāṣitaratnabhāṇḍāgāra*, which is more voluminous than the known anthologies of medieval and later times. Among present-day scholars Dr. P. K. Gode[14] has been responsible for arousing an interest and intelligent appreciation of the subject by his characteristically informative papers contributed to different journals for over the last twenty-five years. The descriptive catalogues of mss. of the different research institutes, scattered over the land, are readily at the disposal of the student, who can carry on intensive researches and set right many hasty and ill-informed opinions of earlier scholars.

Recently D. D. Kosambi has exhibited exemplary patience, enthusiasm and industry in his edition of the *Śatakatrayādisubhāṣitasangraha* (Singhi Jaina Granthamālā no. 23, Bombay, Samvat 2005) and has laid the scholarly world under a deep debt of gratitude by his long-sustained work and carefully prepared text, which will go ā long way to the fixation of a clear and definitive nucleus of what has been known as the *Śatakatraya*. He had published earlier in the Anandasrama Sanskrit Series, Poona, an edition of the *Śatakatraya*, as known in its southern archetype, which we had occasion to refer to[15]; and his more recent work is an evidence of his earnestness and endeavour which can never be overestimated. He has presented the Bhartṛhari problem in a hitherto unknown light and has concluded his labours with the statement, 'If the problem hereafter has been set upon a new footing, I shall be satisfied' (p. 9, Editor's Preface). This is just in the spirit of a votary of truth and knowledge as he is expected to be. The usual editions of the work, Indian or European, which assume a threefold division of the work into *nīti*, *sṛṅgāra* and *vairāgya*, is not countenanced by the arrangement of the verses in early mss., though it is an acknowledged fact that traditional information of some antiquity has clung to this subdivision. The *Vijñānaśataka*, which Kosambi prints, is definitely apocryphal and only a very limited number of late mss. father it on Bhartṛhari. Kosambi arranges the verses (856 in number) in three classes—those that are represented practically in all his mss. (vs 1—200), there-after those that are doubtful (200—352), and those that are definitely of other's composition, thrown into the amorphous Bhartṛhari collection.

It is just likely—and Kosambi admits it—that the number of verses represented under each class in his presentation are actually different from what is shown. One, for example, is at a loss to see how verses 2, 63, 66 and 86 can be regarded as certainties, except on the rather flimsy ground of their presence in many mss. Though he has examined an immensely large number of such, there remain and may come to light others which will nullify this verdict; nor again are we sure how verses 227, 235, 256, 311 and 319 are denied the rle of the first class. Again, can one certify how verses 202, 203, 272, may at all be admitted in a genuine Bhartṛhari collection? The question ultimately is and has been, in general, answered on subjective considerations. He has set forth clearly in the introduction why such an edition has been a dessideratum with scholars. Kosambi's analysis of his mss. apparatus and his division thereof into two distinct recensions, Northern and Southern, with their different regional prototypes,[16] and his view that the nucleus of the work must have been of Central Indian origin deserve serious consideration. His synoptic chart of the major versions[17] indicating the place of the different stanzas is a piece of exacting work, for the like of which one is to think of the efforts of A. Weber in his edition of the *Gāhāsattasaī*, the memorable Prakrit anthology collection published three generations back.

In the case of the *Subhāṣitaratnakoṣa* (Harvard Oriental Series, No. 42, 1957), which in its new name, derived from the colophon in mss. of the Tibetan monastery discovered by R. Sankrityayana (written in proto-Bengali of about 1150 according to Gokhale, the original work being not later than 1100 A.D.) as well as from the last verse,[18] is distinguished from its familiarized name of the fragmentary *Kavīndravacanasamuccaya*, (which name again is derived from the first verse in the collection *nānākavīndravacanāni...teṣāṁ samuccayamanarghyamahaṁ kariṣye*). Kosambi, along with his collaborator Gokhale, has done, on the whole, a nice job. Besides completing a fragmentary work, the missing parts of which were long thought as irrecoverable, they have provided us with a full introduction, where Kosambi has narrated the experiences of their strenuous fight for what they have achieved and the relation of this work with two other East

Indian anthologies, which they have utilised for their editorial work. The mountain in labour has certainly enough not produced a mouse—the world of Sanskrit scholars has every reason to feel benefited if not for anything, at least for supplying the rich collection of literary relics of the Bengali poets of the 8th-11th centuries like Vasukalpa, Yogeś-vara, Vallaṇa and Śubhāṅga, with reminiscences of which they had to be so long satisfied from the *Saduktikarṇāmṛta*, the next and immediately succeeding Bengal Sanskrit anthology.

Kosambi, unlike what he has achieved in his previous work, has, however, confined himself to the task of presenting what he has got from the three mss. at his disposal.[20] This has not been a happy idea, since, as he has openly acknowledged, the futility of depending on them alone for the task he has to achieve (and he says in introduction p. xx clearly that mss. evidence in such conditions does not suffice for the correct presentation of the text), though he realises fully well the compiler's borrowing of materials from literary sources (vide *introd.* p. lxvi), a pretty good many of which have now perished. This is not tackling the problem at all. Moreover the Harvard Oriental Series, (which, by the by, is shortly publishing a translation in English of the work by its present General Editor D. H. Ingalls,) which has published works like Hertel's *Pañcatantra* in the different versions, was just the medium through which this should have been done. There are, however, certain errors of omission and commission which could and should have been avoided in a work (that, on its own admission, has taken a long time to come out) by a scholar known for his instinctive and acquired zeal for precision and his temperament for niceties of details. Thus in his brief references to Sanskrit poeticists[21] there are deplorable blunders. It appears also that he is a bit too opinionistic[22] on matters where the other side of the question—and a fair side too—has been bluntly brushed aside. In the special subject of his investigation there are topics in which he has expressed himself in a manner not supported by tradition or argument. His statement in the *introduction*, p. xcii-xciii, of Bāṇa being later than Bhavabhūti outrageously violates the right interpretation of the easy verse no. 1733 (*unnīto Bhavabhūtinā pratidinam bāṇe gate . . .*).

He has slid over location of verses in his footnotes[23] which were surely meant to be useful and reliable. His statement (*introduction*, p. xxix) "Vidyākara indulged in his taste for ruminating choice morsels of Sanskrit literature. His collection had purely an evocative function" is, to say the least of it, unhappy, uncharitable and unrealistic.

The primary function of the editor of an anthology is that of presenting the text of the verses in a correct way, so far as his materials and knowledge of literature permit. It would be idle to take shelter under the plea that this is a mere "exercise of cryptography and emendation"[24] (*introduction*, p. xxv). Every editor has to rely, not merely on his manuscripts (p. xx), but also on literary sources which are readily at his disposal. He should not be overwhelmingly cowed down and allow himself to be dictated by the actual mechanism of transmission. Below are appended varieties of bad readings noticed in some of the recently published anthology texts, which have been edited by scholars of repute and are frequently used by students in course of their research work. Among errors which should have been avoided at the first instance may be noted :—

(*i*) Printing mistakes.[25] (*ii*) Orthographical anomalies due to dictation and bad vision.[26] (*iii*) Emendations[27] (every editor has to do or suggest it) that are not happy. (*iv*) Punctuation[28] mark, at verse-end wrongly done or bad unmeaning end. (*v*) Corrections[29] made on a previously known text which are fundamentally defective. (*vi*) Grammatical and metrical blemishes.[30] (*vii*) Doubtful readings not noticed[31] by a wave line or other devices which are used generally by editors (the scope for which has been considerably enlarged by present-day editors of great epics, and have been introduced in this field too by Kosambi himself).

Next to the faithful presentation of the text, the editor's work is intelligent appraisement thereof. One who has subapathy for this literature, either because of bias or of subscribing to or holding aloft a fastidious standard of poetic achievement and an unreal conception of the nature of poetry, is hardly entitled to be regarded as a good editor. It is a pity that after F. W. Thomas none of the editors of anthologies that have come to light during the last twenty-five years has ever looked to the aesthetic aspect and cared a bit about the evolution of Indian poetic criticism on its traditional basis. As a direct consequence we have provoking statements many of which can at best be dismissed outright as specimens of 'shock therapy'. We come across statements like 'The average Sanskrit poet wrote for the patrician', 'The subjects treated are unreal', 'The poet is a talking housebird, only of higher rank', 'Woman here is a household animal to man. She is also the luxury of the rich', 'The poet is a spectator, not a participator, even in imagination', 'The *Subhāṣita* literature could not reach the people', 'The picture obtained of any Indian character through Sanskrit alone is misleading', 'This circumvented literature produced only one Kālidāsa' and *ad nauseum* accusations of 'poverty in intelligentsia' and of the tyrannies of the so-called 'feudal literature' with its characteristic aberration of 'empty bombast'. It is not our business here to refute these statements, one by one. It will be sufficient for our purpose to lay down the scope and admit the limitations of this *Subhāṣita* literature. This species of work as handed down to us was intended primarily for relief (*vinoda*), and had to cater to the needs of a hybrid class which had included kings and patrons, persons burdened with the seriousness of life and its worries, easy-going people not given to seriousness of thinking, as much as to the select body of feeling noble souls (*sajjana*, in the language of the *Kādambarī*) and the lovers of choice poetry;[32] and had for its precedent, in this land ruled by precedents, works like the *Sūktisahasra* noted by more than one medieval anthologist. Taking the genius of Sanskrit poetry as what it is, there has been due—but not undue, at the expense of spontaneity—emphasis laid on effort (*abhyāsa*, *abhiyoga*), and this is particularly applicable to this department of poetry, which aims more at delectation rather than at high-class poetic prowess.[33] That is why, even if the author did not deal with any major problem of the individualist poet and has not taken the aim to free humanity from any of the shackles that man has imposed upon himself in making his own history, he is classed and counted as a poet from the old Indian view-point. He would choose to be 'exquisite' rather than to be 'great'—at best this is the position of the Sanskrit anthologist. This accounts for a partiality towards convention (*kavisamaya*) and to rounded forms of elegant expression and tropes, figures of speech, some of which are like *śleṣa* and choice references which have become germane to it.[34] This is stigmatised as a "penchant for involved construction, complicated ideas, obscure mythology and artificial conceits." We have even now Western Indologists,[35] who see nothing reprehensible in them and are in a mood to appreciate them. The insistence on the Sanskrit poet's bursting into song out of the ecstatic transport of joy in living, in the manner of the modern Western lyric poet of the highest order, and of the Vedic seer, is definitely a cry 'for the moon'. To think that early vernacular literature (but it had not then passed the period of its dawn at this time and bears also traces of the influences of Sanskrit poetry almost in every page) is more representative of the people is a distortion of fact and is the outcome of prejudiced vision. (*Intro.* pp xlviii—xlix, but note also xlvii. The new poetry can hardly have been considered as literature at all).

Realism in the rather restricted sense of the present day of being painfully aware of the inward clashes of the bourgeois and the proletariat, of "what man has made of man" may be unknown in Sanskrit anthology literature—for that is repugnant to the Indian attitude of life. But realism in the sense of a living touch with the environment, enjoying and deriving inspiration there-from is not an uncommon feature, particularly in poets, who lived homely lives and observed carefully what was happening around them.[36] If it is held—it is not generally held—that 'poverty of his particular class seems to be the only reality with which the poets of the classical period came to grips' (*SRK. Intro.* p. xliii) and 'there is nothing to prove that the poet was other than what he seems to have been, a hungry Brahmin in distress' (Kos. *Śat.* Intro. p. 81), we have to protest against it and there is ample testimony[37] in our favour. Frank expression[38] of the levity and short-lived nature of royal favour, secured through exie from one's own land, while one accommodates oneself to uncongenial circumstances and occasional flashes[39] of humorous and satiric touch (Sanskrit literature is very seldom aggressively and purposely satirical) have served as welcome relief to man's monotonous life.

To the researcher in Bengal Sanskrit anthology—for anthology literature not unoften betrays a leaning towards a regional type—these realistic touches,[40] homely and simple, and in no way aggressive and pungent (as in the experiences of the hermit youth Śārṅgarava in the *Abhijñānaśakuntala* or of introspective and haunting mysticism like that in the poem *Stepping Westward* of Wordsworth), are significant inasmuch as they reflect the background of Bengal hamlets and fields. In their expression these verses, many of which are the penmanship of poets born and bred in the land of Bengal of green meadows and sweet memories, frequently embody the characteristics of the *Gauḍi rīti*, much maligned in partisan spirit by the early poeticist Daṇḍin, though there are notable exceptions, as in the compositions of Abhinanda, Śubhānga, Dhoyī, the author of the *Pavanadūta*, and his contemporary Umāpatidhara. A leaning towards the *guṇa ojas*, a fondness for *varṇānuprāsa* and the *arthālaṅkāra atiśayokti*, as we have hinted elsewhere, are transparently manifest[41] in them. It is a pleasing, though nonetheless, interesting task for the scholar to trace the outlines of Bengali Sanskrit anthology from the days of Dharmadāsa, the author of the *Vidagdhamukhamaṇḍana* (a specialised type of anthology which combines therewith a treatment of *citrakāvyas* in their *alaṅkāraśāstra* leanings)—known to the *SRK* and to the a little later commentator Sarvānanda, the author of the *Ṭīkāsarvasva* on the *Amarakoṣa*. Dharmadāsa must have had some predecessors in the line, known to Rūpa Gosvāmin, who seems to utilise[42] not merely the *Saduktikarṇāmṛta*, distant in point of time from him, but other such anthologists who lived in the interval (13th-16th cent.) This seems possible from the flourishing condition of Sanskrit literature at the hands of the Bengal Vaiṣṇava poets (15th-18th cent.) and the summaries by the Vaiṣnavas. of the *Bhāgavatapurāṇa* which were in vogue at that time. The elegant Prakrit in many of the Bengal Sanskrit dramas, most of which are known in mss., the compiled commentary on the *Rāvaṇavaho* of Pravarasena, which has just been out in the Calcutta Sanskrit College Research Series, and the manual of by Rāma Tarkvāgīśa serve to dispel the view[43] that anthologists like the author of the *SRK* were classicists and had no taste for or no training in Prakrit. This is also proved by Prakrit verses which have found a place in the Sanskrit anthologies like the *Sūktimuktāvali* of Jalhaṇa (G.O.S.) and the *Sūktiratnahāra* of Sūrya (T.S.S.).

It is noteworthy that the first anthology collection, so far as it is known from literature, was the *Gāhāsattasāi* in Prakrit. Bāṇa's mention of this[44] and of no Sanskrit anthology lends colour to this supposition. The achievements of this type of composition as well as a broad hint as to its contents Bāṇa furnishes in his characteristic manner of *double entendre*. This work was well-known in his time and has a perennial charm. It is *agrāmya* as the Sanskrit poeticists have testified by their frequent citations therefrom. It was refined and elegant and had its rise in the court of the capital of King Hāla. It has many elegant verses dealing with realistic descriptions (*viśuddhajāti*). Whether the other minor topics e.g. *nīti*, as we have it in certain verses of the collection, were there in Bāṇa's time we are not in a position to decide. The main topic in it, as was to be expected from the root-cause of the inception of this sub-class of *kāvyas*, was, of course, *śṛṅgāra* and this it has continued to be in the plan of contents of all general anthologies in Sanskrit. The specialised ones dealt exclusively with *nīti*, *śṛṅgāra* (as in the *Śṛṅgārālāpa*), *citra kāvyas* (as in the early *Vidagdhamukhamaṇḍana* of Dharmadāsa). The *devatāpraśasti*, which we find only in one introductory verse in the *Gāhāsattasaī*, and which only occasionally comes in an indirect way in the course of that work, has been ever since an important topic and no collection, Hindu, Buddhistic or Jaina, is free from it. As the later dramatist Jayadeva in his *Prasannarāghava* puts it,[45] a poetic composition becomes regaling when it is dedicated to the service of the Lord. It is thus a travesty of an inevitable verity to accuse Sanskrit anthology (or Sanskrit poetry in general) as being dominated by its contents of 'sex and religion'. The sub-classes[46] of *anyāpadeśa* (*anyokti*), *arthāntaranyāsa* (e.g. in *SRK* 1019-1121, 1323-1380) and *nāyakanāyikāvyāpāra*, (e.g. *SRK* 465-896) in the manner of the *alaṁkāraśāstra*, are indications of how in the course of its evolution anthology literature[47] became more and more comprehensive and dealt with views and theories which were transmitted to it because of its inherent interest for the literary-minded. In the matter of arrangement of the verses under the different sections (*vrajyā*) the anthologists have sometimes followed different methods. Not a few have tried to group different verses of the same poet together, acc. to the principle of adjacency e.g. in the *SRK*, 1245, 1246. As in the case of the poeticists, the anthologists paid off their debt to the classic poets by their leisurely borrowing from their works, which, in a few cases of ascribed verses, have served to strengthen the views of the Sanskrit scholars in their controversy over particular works or recensions of works being fathered on them.[48] In quite a good many of such cases the antiquity of these anthologies (and sometimes of their mss., as in the case of the *SRK.*) is beyond question; and later mss of classics and their commentaries, which are our mainstay, are not so old.

To the student of the history of Sanskrit literature the recent strides in the study of this class of *kāvyas* is thus of great consequence. For students of the history of Bengali literature and archæology there are nice bits of information which would be welcome as supporting certain theories put forward by scholars, as in *SRK* 1191, the worship of Kāntāradurgā (Vanadurgā) by the primitive village folk (*barbaras*) with sacrifices of animals, the conception of Ārya (Kumāra) Mañjuśrī as a dancing Bhairava (*SRK.* 26), the pranks of the attendants of Śiva and the diversions of the *sakhīs* to Pārvati and of the familiar old ladies to avert any mischief to her (*SRK.* 71, 88, 102). This trend has primarily focussed attention on the methods of, and the pitfalls in, research thereon. With greater and greater facilities for firsthand acquaintance with such works that are coming to light almost daily (amongst which may be particularly mentioned, more than thirty mss. of the *Śatakatraya* in the B.O.R.I. Poona and the *Subhāṣitasuradruma*, a mss. of which was discovered at Sṛngeri by Lewis Rice in the *Cat. of Sans. mss*, Mysore & Coorg, in 1884, 75 years ago, a work not yet published), our information is bound to be more systematised and definite. These in time have to be implemented by a better planned search of such mss. An intensive study has to be pursued, in which the aids of traditional investigation have to be utilised in arriving impartially at their assessment. We must not be cock-sure of what we have at present fixed as the text of the classics[49] that are widely read and have been profusely cited in such works, nor should we perplex our readers with wrong information as the author of the *Prasannarāghava* is the same as the author of the *Gītagovinda* (*Sūktimuktāvalī*, intro. p. 33), or that Maṅgala the poet cited in the *SKM* is the same as Bilvamaṅgala (*SKM*. Intro. p. 87) or encourage wild surmises *e.g.* the poet Cūḍāmaṇi can be equated with the late southern poet Rājacūḍāmaṇi Dīkṣita, the author of *Kamalinī-kalahaṁsa* (as in Aufrecht's surmise *Cat. Cat.* I. 189, which is countenanced by the *SKM*. *intro*. p. 54). Lastly, we must remember that Sanskrit literature is varied in content and is written in a language which is a hard nut to crack,[49a] any 'simplification' of which is fraught with most serious consequences. The aesthetic potentialities of its poetry have never been overshadewed because of its toughness and terseness in structure. We must also cry halt at the dangerously growing practice of indulging in rough and rude handlings of precious gems (*sthūlahastāvalepa*).[50]

References

1. The *Vṛndāvana* is a *yamaka kāvya* pretty old (Vide our paper on The *Vṛndāvanakāvya and Its Author*. (Bulletin, 1931 of the V. R. Society, Rajshahi; and *Pr. A. I. O.* Confec. Baroda).

2. मुक्तके कवयोऽनन्ताः संघाते कवयः शतम्। महाप्रबन्धे तु कविरेको द्वौ दुर्लभास्त्रयः॥ (*Kāvya mīm.* p. 54).

3. मुक्तकेषु हि प्रबन्धेष्विव रसबन्धाभिनिवेशिनः कवयो दृश्यन्ते। तथा ह्यमरुकस्य कवेर्मुक्तकाः शृङ्गाररसस्यन्दिनः प्रबन्धायमानाः प्रसिद्धा एव। (*Dhva. āl.* III. 7. *vṛ.*)

4. कोषः श्लोकसमूहस्तु स्यादन्योन्यानपेक्षकः। व्रज्याक्रमेण रचितः स एवातिमनोरमः॥ (*Sāh. dar.* ch. vi)

5. लावण्यद्रविणध्ययो न गणितः . . . .। तथा चायं धर्मकीर्त्तेः श्लोक इति प्रसिद्धः। सम्भाध्यते च तस्यैव। यस्मात्—अनध्यवसितावगाहन . . . . इत्यनेनापि श्लोकेनैवंविधोऽभिप्रायः प्रकाशित एव। (*Dhv. āl.* III p. 216-17 N. S. edn) This verse is ascribed to Dharmakīrti in the *S.R.K.* also (v. 454). the *Dhvāṇ. ā. loc's* remarks on last verse Ch. IV. इह बाहुल्येन लोको लोकप्रसिद्धया सम्भाब्वनाप्रत्ययबलेन प्रवर्तते। स च सम्भावनाप्रत्ययो नामश्रवणवशात्–

प्रसिद्धान्यतदीयसमाचारकवित्वविद्वत्ताऽऽदिसमनुस्मरणेन भवति । तथाहि–भर्तृहरिणेदं कृतं–यस्यायमौदार्यमहिमा यस्यास्मिञ्छास्त्रे एवंविधः सारो दृश्यते तस्यायं श्लोकप्रबन्धस्तस्मादादरणीयमेतदिति लोकः प्रवर्तमानो दृश्यते । These remarks are very much relevant to the main topic of this paper.

6. दुर्वृत्ता जारजन्मानो हरिष्यन्तीति शङ्कया । मदीयपद्यरत्नानां मञ्जूषैषा कृता मया ।। (the closing verse in the *Bhāminivilāsa*)

7. Cf. सुभाषितमयैर्द्रव्यैः संग्रहं न करोति यः । सोऽपि प्रस्तावयज्ञेषु कां प्रदास्यति दक्षिणाम् ।। *S. r. bhā, p.* 30.

8. To Bhoja of Dhāra is attributed an unambitious collection (as to him we owe the collection of the choice verses from the rich treasury of Rāma dramas, available at the time in the nucleus work later known as the *Mahānāṭaka* (*vide* the present writer's paper on *A Clue to the Mahānāṭaka Problem Pr. A. I. O. Confi.* Baroda & *I. H. Q.* Vol X) fragments of which are believed to be no 248 Poona, xix, Visrambag (Intro. p. 12 *K. V. S.*) So also to Todarmalla's encouragement we owe the *Ślokasangraha* (B. O. R. I. 527), to Samboji, the son of the great Sivaji, the collection *Subhāsitahārāvalī* (B.O.R.I. 92. 1883-84).

9. As for the incompleteness or abandoning of connected compositions, Rājaśekhara assigns the following reasons :— पुनः समापयिष्यामि, पुनः संस्करिष्यामि, सुहृद्भिः सह विवेचयिष्यामीति कर्तुराकुलता राष्ट्रोपप्लवश्च प्रबन्धविनाशकारणानि । (*Kāvyamīm.* p. 53).

10. Perhaps modelled on an earlier Jaina anthology of the same name, and assigned to Śubhacandra. This work is divided into 38 sections and is available in mss.

11. To Fitz-Edward Hall's accusation in the introduction to his edition of Subandhu's Vāsavadattā. 'In short it is nothing beyond the voucher of severest variety to rank him with his fellow Asiatics, be it in their highest estate as no better than a specious savage'. Peterson retorts (in his intro. to the *Subhāshitāvali*) 'Subandhu and his fellow Asiatics are here to speak for themselves. On such an issue we need not enquire how far the indelicacy of Hindu verse, to which Hall is referring, is merely not in accordance with modern manners or it is bad in itself. It is enough to ask the reader if he finds it difficult to recognise in the verses that follow (twenty-four verses of the *Su. bhā.* are rendered into English) the touch of nature. Peterson compares *Su. bhā.* 1064 (यास्यामीति गिरः . . . . *S.K.A. II.* 52. 3) a verse ascribed to Bhadanta Dhīranāga, (who is generally known as the author of the drama *Kundamālā*) with the lines of the modern English poet Tennyson:—Rose a nurse of ninety years Laid his child upon her knee, Like summer tempest came her tears, Sweet my child ! I live for thee.

12. This is evident from the closing lines of the Preface to the edn.—'I trust that the labour devoted to this modest publication will not seem to have

been misspent. It leaves me with an enhanced appreciation of the poetic and artistic merits of the Sanskrit Kavis and Mahākavis.'

13. The *Sūryaśataka*, the *Caṇḍīśataka*, the *Sṛṅgāratilaka* (of Rudrabhatta), the *Bilhaṇakāvya*, the *Devīśataka* (of Anandavardhana), are some of the prominent compositions published in this series.

14. e.g. in the *Annals. B.O.R.I. XVI* (*Subhāsitāvalī* of Hari Kavi), *Cal. Or. Jour. III.* (*Padyāmṛtatarangini* of Haribhāskara, since edited by J. B. Chowdhury, 1941), *Journal of the Bombay Univ. XV.* (*Śṛngārālapa*), *I. H. Q.* XXII. (*Subhāṣitamuktāvalī*)? *Bhāratiya Vidyā III* (*Subhāsitasuradruma*, reported to be the largest known unpublished anthology), *New Indian Antiquary I.* (*Sabhātaraṅga* of Jagannātha Misra); and in *the J.O.R.* Madras Vol. XIV. *Padyaracanā* of Lakṣmaṇa Śāstrī).

15. Vide *Proc. A.I.O. Confer.* (14th Session, Darbhanga) *pt. II.* p. 37.

16. Vide *Introduction* pp. 21-38 for his detailed account of the archetypes.

17. *Ibid.* pp. 39-55.

18. S. R. K. 1738. **कीर्त्या समं त्रिदिववासमुपस्थितानां मर्त्यावतीर्णमरुतामपि सत्कवीनाम्। जग्रन्थ दुर्लभसुभाषितरत्नकोषं विद्याकरः सुकृतिकण्ठविभूषणाय ॥**

19. 'The aim has been to restore, as far as the sources permit, the text accepted by Vidyākara, whether or not it agrees with that of the stanza as originally composed by its particular authors' (Intro. p. XLII)'. 'At the bottom of the page are reported a minimum number of variants' (p. XXIV).

20. e.g. Daṇḍin belongs to the latter half of the 6th century (p. LXX.); Rudraṭa belongs to the latter half of the 7th century (p. CXI.), his commentator Namisādhu is dated A.D. 1609; Rudraṭa is the author of the *Śṛngāratilaka* (p. CVII); Allaka is the continuer of the *Kāvyaprakāśa* of Mammaṭa (p. cxii).

21. e.g. there were two Abhinandas, the author of the *Kadambarīkathāsāra* being different from that of the *Rāmacarita*, who was a ninth century poet (p. lxvii); there were two Bhartṛharis, one the poet and the other the author of the *Vākyapadīya* (p. lxxvi); there were two Bilhaṇas (p. XXXIII); the Damodara Miśra version of the '*Māhānāṭaka* was the original, the Madhusūdana a refinement, (p. CIV.) (on this point *vide* the present writer's paper. '*A Clue to the Mahānaṭaka Problem*'). The *Amarusātaka* is not earlier than the *Śatakatraya* ascribed to Bhartṛhari (Intro. p. 56 *The Epigrams Attributed to* Bhartṛhari).

22. The *Amaruśataka* is a compilation rather than a work of unitary authorship (p. lxxi); Bhojyadeva, the literary patron (intro. lxxxviii); Bhavabhūti is earlier than Bāṇabhātṭa (intro. xcii).

23. e.g. *S. R. K.* 1668 **दृष्टिरोधकरं . . .** which is *Kāv. ād.* II. 197, Koṣ *Śaṭ* 16 **अधिगतपरमार्थान् . . .** which is not Rudraṭā's (*Kāv. al. I* 70 **अधिगतसकलज्ञेयं . . .**) Kos. *Śataka* 753 (**साहानिः . . .** *Kāt. sam.* as is cited in *Haribhaktivilāsa*).

24. Cf., however, this editor's enunciation of the problem facing the student of anthology:—'The next step is to determine the original text of each stanza from all the various forms' (*Intro*. p. 71 Kos. *Sat.*)

25. e.g. T84d (प्रादुर्बभूवुर्नवकुलड्मानि for नवकुड्मलानि), T 1200 (गम्भीराम्भोधराणामविरणनिपत. . . for . . . धराणामविरल. .), T 179 c इति नवहरिणाक्ष्या . . . for इति बत . . .) *Sat.* 617b (दृष्ट्वा दृष्ट्वा क्षिपति च वृथा for . . .क्षिपसि च वृथा . . .) *S.R.K.* 66 ed. (अवताद्वो हरगुहयोरुमय-परित्राण. . . for . . . गुहयोरुभय) . . . *S.R.K* 326a (शत्रुः कारणमान्मनोपि for कारणमात्मनोऽपि), *S. R. K.* 97a. . (सद्योनृभुण्डस्त्रज . . . for नृमुण्डस्त्रजम्), *S.R.K.* 1126a (अन्धीनीरन्ध् . . . for आन्ध्रीनीरन्ध्) *S.* p. 47 v. 93a. (कर्णाटी for कार्णाटी), *S.M.V.* p. 26 v.13 (लक्षीकृतस्य . . . for लक्ष्यीकृतस्य). *S.K.M.* I.77d (. . . त्रिपुहर for त्रिपुरहर) *S.K.M. II* 211d (गतं पुनरयववैः for पुनरवयवैः)

26. e.g. *T* 7b= *S.R.K.* 76 (पूरोत्सलच्छीकरा . . . for पूरोच्छल . . .), T11a (. . . वन्द्योऽपितास्त्रोत्कर. . . for वन्ध्यायितास्त्रोत्कर . . .), *T.* 96b (व्यामथ्योपरर्तप्रयेषु . . . for व्यामथ्योपरतप्रपेषु . . .) *T* 169a (. . . दूर्वा-थ्यामो. . . for दूर्वाश्यामो), *S.R.K.* 25a (अङ्गामोदसमोछल. . . for. . समुच्छल), *S.R.K.* 256 . . . पर्यन्यधार्मिक. . . जलदेन्द्रनीलगण्डूतोज्झितै for पर्जन्यः. . गण्डूष-तोयितैः), *S.R.K.* 291c (आद्यकुलोपनिमन्त्रण . . . for आढयकुलो . . .), *S.R.K.* 361d (. . . पकंलेपलड्हछायं . . . for . . लेपलटह. . .), *S.R.K.*878 a (भूमध्यामपुराण . . . for धूमश्याम. . .), *S.R.K.* 1734 ab (धामन्थुत्सलिते वल्लनाम्भोधौ। . . . विश्रान्तो रसभागस्तिमितयति. . . for धामन्युच्छलिते वल्लणाम्भोधौ। विश्रान्तो रसभागः स्तिमितयति . . .)। *S.M.V.* p. 28 v. 68 (मेघीभूय for मेधीभूय . . .), *S.R.K.* 1200 bc (दुकूलवह्निसदृशः. . . स मीनमकरः for कुकूलवह्नि . . . समीनमकः . . .) *S.R.K.* 1673d (नमः सत्कर्मभ्यो. . . for नमस्त्कर्मभ्यो . . .) *S.R.K.* 1175c (अनन्तनाम. . . for अनन्तं नाम. . .); SRK 235 c (. . .तदिभीवोद्दाम. . . for तदितीवोद्दाम. . .),

27. e.g. *T*93=*S.R.K.* 203 (तापं. .शीकरैः श्रोणिमुक्षन्. .तरणानांशवीं . .हरिणा रात्रयो यापयन्ति for कुक्षिमुक्षन्. .तरणावांशवीं हरिणारातयो यात-यन्ति This last is our suggestion Kos's mss reads रातयन्ति—Kos. read यापयन्ति); Kos *Sat.* 300a (महेश्वरे वा जगतां महेश्वरे), Kos. *Śat.* 407cd (ज्ञानेनराणा. . for ज्ञानेन) ; *S.R.K* 4., (कामक्रोधौ द्वयमपि पदं. . *T.* has द्वयमपि यदि the better reading); S.R.K. 58a (पायाद्वारेन्दुमौलेः. . for पाया-

द्वालेन्दु); *S.R.K.* 185a (इदानीं . . जठरदल . . for . . जरठ . .); *S.R.K.* 309c (वारां पूर्णा इव सर्चकिता वारपारीणदृष्टेः . . for . . सर्चकितावारपारीणदृष्टेः); *S.R.K.* 333b = *T* 141b = *S.K.M. I.* 465 (पूजार्विलोकर्नविगूहन . . for निगूहन)

28. Kos. *Sat.* 490d (त्रयं कुर्व्यान्त . . न तिस); *S.R.K.* 68b (वातोच्छलत् at end).

29. *T* 4 = *S.R.K.* 4 (द्वयमपि पदं wrong); *S.R.K.* 1734 ((*T.* has पर्जन्य Kos. changes it to पर्यण्यः); *S.R.K.* 636a (. . तरला दृष्टा दृष्टिः . . T has धृष्टा दृष्टिः—the right reading); *S.M.V.* p 47 v. 93 (प्रभुर्देवी for प्रभुदवी); Kos. *Śat* 148d (. . तृष्णे जृम्भणि for जृम्भसि)

30. e.g. Kos. *Śat.* 86. (को वा अर्थः प्रभूतैः); Kos. *Śat* 223 bd (विद्वज्जने आर्जवम्। शिवो वा एकं मित्रं . . । वने वा एका भार्या . .); Kos. *Śat.* 813 (. . धात्री अन्यदत्ता सहोदरी); Kos *Śat.* 846 (पूर्वं मांसमिदं . . विवाहबहवो भर्त्तारपच्चालिके ... धन्यो मालवमण्डलो . . .); T. 93d (. . हरिणा रात्रयो यापयन्ति); T 47b (. . प्रलयकारणमेकमेव . .); *S.R.K.* 15a = T15a = *S.K.M.* I. 242a (स्वर्णाथदेह . .); *S.M.V.* p. 334c (धानाध्यानमन्ये); T513 = S.R.K. 870d (बाले लज्जा प्रणष्टा . .); S.R.K. 302a (रतिक्षोभनोद्वान्त); S.R.K. 1170a (शीर्णक्षुद्रातपत्री . . स्नातकः सायमेति); *S.R.K.* 1734c (विश्रान्तो रसभागस्तिमितयति); Kos. *Śat* 166b (. . तस्य किमिमैः); Kos. *Śat.* 134 (मलयजरजश्चातिसुरभिः); Kos *Śat.* (सर्वस्यैव मायासहस्रस्य इयमेव गरीयसी ॥)

31. *T.* 2d (मारा वारवधूस्तनाश्च); T. 8c (क्षान्तिप्रसूनोदय); *S.R.K* 1170a (स्वैरेन्धस्फोटनाय) *Śat.* 37c (सौजन्यं यदि किं जनैः); *S.R.K.* 302b (सततमृतुना सेव्यतां नीयमानः); Kos *Śat.* 45c (कर्मणामा विपत्तेः . . .) Kos. *Sat.* 4156 (किं यामि विक्रमपुरं - - - बिम्बायमानहृदयः किमहं) *S.M.V.*p. 62 = S.K.M.I. 52a (व्यलीके पार्वत्याः); *S.M.V.*p. 62 = *S.R.K.* 957ab (मध्येव्योम कटिभ्रमास्तु - - -कुर्वन्त्यमूस्तारकाः) *T.* 57a = *S.R.K.* 155$_a$ (कान्तेन प्रहितो नवः प्रियसखीवर्गेण), *S.R.K.* 318d (कोणे कोणे खलानां परिसरसकटुः कीर्यते कोऽपि गन्धः); *S:M.V.* v. 14 (p. 334) (अङ्गुष्ठाङ्गुलिधरः रुद्रभूः) Kos *Śat* 138d (विचित्राग्रय - - -)।

32. सुभाषितं हारि विशत्यधो गलान्न दुर्जनस्यार्करिपोरिवामृतम्। तदेव धत्ते हृदयेन सज्जनो हरिर्महारत्नमिवातिनिर्मलम् ॥ (*Kād* Intro. verse); नायं प्रयाति विकृतिं - - न यस्मान्न क्षीयते बहुजनैर्नितरां निपीतः। जाड्यं निहन्ति

रुचिमेति करोति तृप्तिं नूनं सुभाषितरसोऽन्यरसातिशायी ।। Cf. Kos. *Śat.* 4. (बोद्धारो मत्सरग्रस्ता -- जीर्णमङ्गे सुभाषितम् ।)

33. कृशे कविवेऽपि जनाः कृतश्रभा विदग्धगोष्ठीषु विहर्त्तुतीशते *Kāv. ād.* I. 105) Cf. also कवेः कर्म काव्यम् ।

34. e.g. verses like *S.R.K.* 1385 (सत्सु रक्तः द्विषां कालः पीतः स्त्रीणां विलोकनैः । शुभ्रः कीर्त्याऽसि तत् सत्यं चतुर्वर्णाश्रयो भवान् ।। and *S.R.K.* 138 (न लोपो वर्णातां न खलु परतः प्रत्ययविधिर्विकारो नास्येव क्वचिदपि न भग्नाः प्रकृतयः । गुणो वा वृद्धिर्वा सततमुपकाराय जगतां मुनेर्दाक्षीपुत्रादपि तव समर्थः पदविधिः ।।) which are appreciated by the Indian intelligentsia.

35. D. H. H. Ingalls in his preface to the edn of the *S.R.K.* (*H.O.S.* vol.42) says:—(p.x.) "On this subject Kosambi and I are in disagreement, not only because I judge the artistic merits of the poems to be higher than he does, but because I feel that a class theory, while it may explain to some extent the content of a literature, is a very improper guide to its excellence. Indeed this is more than a feeling—it is a knowledge" (This is in reply to Kosambî introduction pp. *xliii-xliv*).

36. *S.R.K.* 206 (T96) (अग्रे तप्तजला --पीयन्ते हलमुक्तभग्न महिषप्रक्षोभ-पर्याविलाः); *S.R.K.* 318 (वारं वारं --कोणे कीर्यंते कोऽपि गन्धः); *S.R.K.* 1170 (शीर्णक्षुद्रातपत्री जठर --- स्नातकः सायमेति); *S.R.K.* 1186 (तिर्यंक्तीक्षण --- न्नुक्षा गोष्ठतटीषु लब्धविजयो गोवृन्दमास्कन्दति ।)

37. Kos. *Śat* 152 (दीना दीनमुखैः ---) 1 63. (त्वं राजा --), *Śat.* 177 (वयमिह परितुष्टा---); *S.K.M.* v· 235 & *S. bh.* 3204 दारिद्रपक्षितिपः स मे निजपतिः ---); *S.K.M.* v215 (वयमनिपुणाः---) may be considered. *S.R.K.* 1598 (वासो वल्कल --- तथापि कृपणा याचन्त इत्यद्भुतम् ।) Kos. *Śat* 13c (सुधियोऽप्यर्थं विनाऽपीश्वराः); Kos. *Śat.* 113 (स्त्रीमुद्रां झषकेतनस्य) ; *S.r.bh.* (सौजन्याम्बुमरुस्थली...तेषां शूलिनि (शार्ङ्गिणि) भक्तिमात्रसुलभे सेवा कियत् कौशलम् ।।)

38. *S.R.K.* 1375 (प्रायो भवत्यनुचितस्थितिदेशभाजः); *S.M.V.* p. 432. v. 3 (अविवेकिनि भूपे यः करोत्याशां समृद्धये । यास्याम्यहमनेनेति करोमत्याशां स मृद्धये ।।) a *Yamaka.*

39. Kos. *Śat.* 165 (न नरा न विटा नः गायना न परद्रोहनिबद्धबुद्धयः । --- नृपसद्मनि नाम के वयम् ।।)

40. *S.R.K.* 1312 (सक्तून् शोचति संप्लुतान् प्रतिकरोत्याक्रन्दतो बालकान् प्रत्यासिञ्चति कर्परेण सलिलं शय्यातृणं रक्षति। दत्त्वा मूर्धनि शीर्णशूर्पशकलं जीर्णे गृहे व्याकुला किं तद्यन्न करोति दुःस्थगृहिणी देवे भृशं वर्षति ।। *Su. bh.* 10_n 64 (यास्यामीति ... vide fn 11,)

41. *S.R.K.* 25(अङ्गामोदसमुच्छलद्घृणिपतद्भृङ्गावलीमालित-स्फूर्जल्लाञ्छन-सूत्रगुम्फितमिलन्नीलोत्पलश्रीरिव।---स्मर्यतां मञ्जुश्रीः सुरमुक्त ... र्भ्यर्चितः।।) *S.R.K.* 183 (उपनयति कपोले . . नवनखपद---बिन्दून् ।।); *S.R.K.* 244 (एताः पंकिलकूलरूढनलदस्तम्बक्वणत्कम्बवः . . . . भूमयः ।।); *S.R.K.* 929 (अयमुदयति ... instanced as *Pāncalī rīti* in *Sar. kaṇ. ābh.*), *S.R.K.* 1191. (तैस्तैर्जीवोपहारैरिह ......); *S.R.K.* 39 (गाढग्रन्थिप्रफुल्ल ... श्रेणयो भैरवस्य ।।); *S.R.K.* 822 (पान्थे पद्मसरोऽन्तशाद्वलभुवि . . . . किं न्विदम् ।); *S.R.K.* 1056 (उन्मुक्तक्रमहारिमेरु . . . गिरीणां पतिः ।।); *S.R.K.* 37 & 1208 (किं वाच्यो महिमा. . .); *S.R.K.* 1416 (जीयासुः कलिकाल . . .); S.R.K. 6=T6 (शास्ता समस्त . . . मुनीन्द्रः ।।); *S.R.K.* 956 (ताराकोरकराजिभाजि . . . श्वेतोर्णनाभः शशी ।।), as also *T* 16=*S. R. K.* 399; and *S.K.M.* V. 128 (बाणः प्राणिति केशटः . . . .)

42. v. 130 (ascribed to मङ्गल), v. 210 (लज्जैवोद्घाटिता . . .) v. 277 (तड़िदुत्तरला . . .) v. 283 there noted as कस्यचित् and v. 349 (मलिनं . . . .) may be cited in this counection. The references are to the Dacca Univ. edn. by S. K. De.

43. This is what is stressed in the statement of Rājaśekhara in the *Kāv. mīm.* (p. 51) गौडाद्याः संस्कृतस्थाः which has been streched too far to imply that they were deficient in Prakrits.

44. v. 13अविनाशिनमग्राम्यमकरोत् सातवाहनः। विशुद्धजातिभिः कोषं रत्नैरिव सुभाषितैः ।। (अविनाशिनं प्रसिद्धमनश्वरं च। अग्राम्यं वैदग्ध्यमुक्तमग्रामभवं च। . . . कोशः समुच्चयो गञ्जश्च) in the *Sanketa*, the earliest availablle commentary thereon.

45. V. 23. न ब्रह्मविद्या न च राज्यलक्ष्मीस्तथा यथेयं कविता कवीनाम्। लोकोत्तरे पुंसि निवेश्यमाना पुत्रीव हर्षं हृदये तनोति ।।

46. labelled as *apadeśa* in the *S.K.M.*, *anyokti* and *vakrokti* in the *Śbh* and *Śar*. pad.

47. e.g. *S.R.K.* 1375 (vide fn 38), *S.K.M.* IV *apadeśapravāha* in 360 verses esp. IV. 43=S.R.K. 1024 (अयं वारामेको निलयः) v. 70 (शैत्यं नाम गुण-

स्तवैव - - -); v. 137 (अन्यासु तावदुपमर्दसहासु)..., v. 337 (गाङ्गमम्बु....)

48. e.g. *Su. bh.* 1678, 1703-4 (which are verses in *Ṛtu sam.* I. 13, 20 and VI. 20 this last is ascribed to Kalidāsa), *S.R.K.* 1245, 1246 (आ परितोषाद्विदुषां ...पुराणमित्येव न साधु..कालिदासस्य) The *Prasannasāhityaratnākara* an anthology of N.E. India knows इदमप्युपकृतिपक्षे (v. 870,) तथैव सङ्कल्पशतैः v. 1155. The S.R.K. (p. 328) prints पाक्षं for पक्षे in the former and अतिबुद्धि for अतिवृद्धि as well as मयैव मुक्तस्तव for मय्येव युक्तस्तव in the latter) admitted only in the Bengal recension in Act III. as Kālidasa's. *Vide* S. K. Belvalkar's The *Śrngaric Elaboration in the Śakuntala* (Sir Asutosh Mukherje Silver Jub. Comm. vol. *Orientalia* III).

49. e,g. in case of verses like *Raghu.* VI. 63 (अनेन कल्याणि...) VIII. 16. 17. (यतिपार्थिव...अजिताधिगमाय)

49a. Peterson's rendering of *Sv. bh.* 1064a (अवधिश्चारोपितश्चेतसि ...) 'The day of his return is a treasure she lays away on her heart', is defective. Even F. W. Thomas a well-versed scholar in *kāvyas* erred and gave wild and fanciful explanations in his notes e.g. in T. 12.. T. 39, T. 96.

50. e.g. Kos. *Śat.* 119b (....रागाधिक्यतमोष्ठपल्लवदलं ... and his apology for such a fanciful reading in *introduction* p. 75), Kor *Śet.* 140 d (तृष्णे जृम्भणि); Kos. *Śat.* 161c (लवधनमधुपान ... for the possible reading cf. Kos. *Sat.* 8 (ज्ञानलव ....); *S.R.K.* 58a (पायाद्वारेन्दु ...); *S.R.K.* 256 (विन्ध्याद्रे...गंडूशतोज्झितैः); *S.R.K.* 636 (...दृष्टा दृष्टिः); *S.R.K.* 1170d (स्वैरेन्धस्फोटनाय); *S.R.K.* 1200b (यं सञ्चिन्त्य दुकूलवह्निसदृशः); S. R. K. 1270c (जगद्भ्रामीकर्त्तुं ...) So also Kosambi's observations (*Śat intro*pp. 73-76) on text-criticism and their applications are unsatisfactory and savour of misinformed bias.

The following are the abbreviations:—

Bib. Ind.	Bibliothica Indica
Dhv. āl.	ध्वन्यालोक
Kāv. ād.	काव्यादर्श
Kāv. al.	काव्यालङ्कार
Kāv. anu.	काव्यानुशासन
Kāv. mīm.	काव्यमीमांसा
Kos. *Śat*	शतकत्रयादिसुभासितसंग्रह (Kosambi, Bombay, 1949).

Śr. pr.	शृङ्गारप्रकाश	
Sah. dar.	साहित्यदर्पण	
Su. bh.	सुभाषितावली	(B. S. Series).
Śar. P.	शार्ङ्गधरपद्धतिः	(B.S.S.)
Sr. bh.	सुभाषितरत्नभाण्डागार	(N. S. Press)
S.K.M.	सदुक्तिकर्णामृत	(ed. H. D. Sarma.)
S.M.V.	सूक्तिमुक्तावली	(G. O. S. Series, Baroda,)
S.R.K.	सुभाषितरत्नकोष	(Har. Or. Ser. No. 42)
T.	कवीन्द्रवचनसमुच्चय	(ed. by F. W. Thomas.)

THE CHAITYA WINDOW MOTIF

DEVAPRASAD GHOSH

THE life history of the *Gavāksha* or Chaitya window device illustrates the process of amazing transformation of a purely architectonic motif, evolved and employed from a sense of utility, into a decorative device of elegant beauty and rhythmic grace having but a remote semblance to the original pattern. The Chaitya window is a typically ancient Indian motif. No such design has been conceived by the artist of any age.

Forms which may be compared to this motif are to be found in the stucco ornament from Samarra of the 9th century and on the frieze round the Seljuk graveyard tower at Radkan.[1] This element, which figures so prominently in the early Buddhist shrines, has been given different names by different scholars *viz.* the horse-shoe arch, the Chaitya-arch, the Sun-window, the lotus-leaf window, etc. Referred to in the *Śilpa-śāstras* as "*Gavāksha*" or "*Chandraśālā*",[2] it is generally called a Chaitya arch or window, owing to its invariable association with the Buddhist Chaitya caves of Western India, of which it is a characteristic and typical feature from the very start. The huge arch of horse-shoe pattern represented on the upper part of the Chaitya facade was the only aperture for the introduction of air and light into the interior of the cave, barring the doorways. Besides being a pattern of comely shape, it served its purpose extremely well. The admirable way in which subdued light streamed into the cave and illuminated the nave and the stūpa and suffused the rest of the interior with a mysterious glow has elicited the unstinted praise of all the authorities on Indian architecture.

The oldest Chaitya cave of Bhājā, besides having an open window, is carved with miniature patterns of the same as decorations on the walls of the facade and the interior. Henceforward the Chaitya window and the rail pattern came to be used as stereotyped ornaments in unlimited profusion and in every part of the rock-cut Chaityas and Vihāras.

The abundance of this motif is particularly prominent in the four early Chaitya caves of Bhājā, Kondāne, Pitalkorā and Ajantā cave X. Such arches are visible also over the doorway tympanums of the Khaṇḍagiri and Udayagiri caves in Orissa *e.g.* Ananta Gumphā, Gaṇeśa Gumphā and Rāṇī Gumphā.[3] The railings of Bhārhut, Bodh Gayā and Sāñchī, are copiously carved with miniature windows. Gandhāra sculptures, Mathurā and Jagayyapetā slabs and Amarāvatī marbles are also no less overwhelmed with this design. Nor was the Gupta artist less enthusiastic in its treatment. In the 9th volume of his survey Reports (p. 42) Cunningham while describing the small flat roofed Tigāwā shrine notices "bosses on the capitals of a peculiar form, like bee-hives, with short side horns" which are nothing but developed types of the Chaitya window motif, closely paralleled by those on the door lintel of the shrine at Nāchnā. The earliest dated Gupta monument *viz.* the Chandra Gupta cave, Udayagiri (401 A.D.), is adorned with three well spaced patterns, the outer line ogee shaped, the inner semicircular. The roll mouldings of the roof of Lāḍ Khān's temple in the Deccan is decorated with miniature Chaitya-window niches. The same device occurs on the cornice of the Bhumārā temple, and the tower of the Deogarh temple in Central India. It is represented also on the horizontal courses of the pyramidal brick temple of Bhitargaon, while a series of these niches with peeping heads, meant to represent *Devas* looking out of *Prāsādas* through the *Gavākshas*, are carved in regular succession on the mouldings and friezes of the Chaityas and Vihāras of Ajantā and Ellorā and on the structural brick Chaitya at Ter. Window niches, of striking forms, are to be seen on the receding tiers of the temple of Gop. The structures which were erected both in the north and the south are fully illustrated with this design. One of the most beautiful in India, the cella of the brick temple of Lakshmaṇa at Sirpur, is decorated with Chaitya window niches, while the contemporary Rathas of Māmallapura in the south are rather extravagantly treated with this form. The Chaitya window motif was also much used in early Chālukyan architecture. Temples of Aihole and Paṭṭadakal, whether built in Nāgara or Drāviḍa style, admitted the claim of the typical window as a leading decorative device. The Malegitti temple, Bādāmi (c. 625 A.D.), shows this motif on the basement and on the horizonal courses and it persisted to be a characteristic feature on the heavy mouldings of the Dravidian temples in the following ages. The Kailāsa at Ellorā, and the Kailāsanātha of Conjeveram are equally lavished with this ornament. Further repetition of the mediaeval temples of Northern and Central India, adorned with this motif in connection with this as well as the diaper pattern, would be tiresome.

That the early architecture of Indonesia, could not resist the invasion of this ornament *par excellence* of India, is betrayed by several temples in Cambodia and Java. Exclusion of this ornament, however, from the decorative vocabulary of Champā, which include the *Makara Toraṇa*, niches, *Haṃsas* with extended wings, is very surprising indeed. At Hanchie near Sambur in Cambodia, there are two small shrines with pyramidal towers (early 7th century A.D.), one in brick and another in laterite, both carved with Chaitya-windows.[4] The roll cornice and pedestal of cella found at Peri-Kuk, Kampon Thom, are embellished with identical motifs, which are also represented on the deep horizontal mouldings of the tower of the unique granite temple at Asram Maha Rosei. Somewhat further south may be mentioned "the lowest and projecting cornice bearing the largest of these, like that of the Pallava temple on the hill at Panamalai in South India". But the tradition of decorating the shrines with this device was discontinued with the advent of classic Khmer architecture.[5] Trefoiled niches, decorated at the edge with flames, on the entablature, surmounting the pillars of the northern peristyle in the central sanctuary of Ankor Thom at Bayon, nevertheless, closely resemble their Indian prototypes.[6] In Java, the Chaitya-window pattern is to be found on the retreating horizontal stages of the pyramidal roof of the isolated Chaṇḍi Bhīma (7th cent. A.D.) on the Dieng plateau, while extremely floriated examples are carved on the parapets of the marvellous galleries of Borobudur.

Various theories have been advanced as to the origin of the Chaitya-window motif. To us, the origin should be traced to the wooden or more precisely the bent bamboo prototype (Fig. 1). The lining of purlins and the wooden screens or lattices which fill up the openings of the early Chaitya caves clearly points to this original derivation. The earliest prototype of the Chaitya arches of Western India is indeed offered by the remarkable facade of the Lomas Ṛishi Cave, in the Barābar Hills (*c.* 3rd century B.C., Fig. 2). The ogee arch over the heavy sloping jambs, is in its turn copied from the neighbouring bent bamboo rafters of the typical thatched roofs of Bengal. According to Codrington the motif, occurring on the Lomas Ṛishi Cave, "is probably not the earliest instance of the '*Chaitya*-Hall window'. But his assumption that "the arched screen is not a wooden construction at all",[7] is scarcely convincing, for the facade is unequivocally wooden in character and appearance. When the motif emerges as a fully developed arch in front of the gable vault of the Bhājā cave in the early 2nd century B.C., it is an extremely simple device. The outside line, which is more contracted than the arch of Lomas Ṛishi, still follows the curve of a village thatched roof of Bengal (Fig. 3) and the purlin ends and the pointed finial of the cave facade is faithfully copied, although in a generalised form.[8] The motif occuring in the Bhārhūt, Bodh Gayā and Sānchī reliefs are almost exact replicas of the Bhājā type, with local variation in the span of the arch. The doorway tympanums of the Khaṇḍagiri and Udayagiri Caves in Orissa are also surmounted by similar semi-circular arch bands but without the purlin ends and having the *Triratna* symbols as finials in Ananta Gumphā anticipating the later *Kīrttimukha* heads. In the centuries just preceding the Christian era the transformation of the inner curve almost into a horse-shoe pattern is visible on the facade of the caves at Bedsā, Nāsik, Kārle and Ajantā Cave X, and on the later reliefs of Bhārhūt and Sānchī, while the outer one is invested with a rhythmic flow (Fig. 4). We are rather startled at first by the sudden emergence of a double curved form at Takht-i-Bāhi, in Gandhāra, in the 1st Century A.D. (Fig. 5), closely resembling the stalactite ornaments, employed to decorate the spandrils and door or window jambs of Moorish architecture. Proper investigation will, no doubt, refrain us from dismissing it as the artist's freak, having no relation with the motif associated with the *Gavākshas*. Double roof structures, "circular in plan, and two-storied, or at least, with a clear storey between the dome and the lower roof", are found to be represented already at Bhārhūt.[9] The degeneration of such forms into niches is apparent on the Ali-Masjid Stūpa,[10] and at Takht-i-Bāhi[11] itself which show the obvious superimposition of a chaitya arch of the Bhājā type, over two divided halves, without any organic connection. The tri-foiled shape at Takht-i-Bāhi has been evolved simply by eradicating the glaring anomaly, and combining the upper and lower elements into a composite pattern. Mathurā, although saturated with the Hellenistic spirit and was the distributing centre of Hellenistic forms in the very heart of India, did not accept the Gandhāra pattern, but followed the traditional type in a slightly altered form (Fig. 6). It seemed as if a heavy pressure from above perceptively stunted the arch, resulting in the curling up of the protruding ends on both sides. In the design on the late Amarāvatī reliefs, the upward trust of the growing horns is clearly visible; the finial has been floriated (Fig. 7).

It is only in the Gupta period that the ornament assumes the truly conventional type. The Chaitya-window at Ajantā in the 5th Century (Fig. 8) is an extremely elaborate decorative device, with fully developed inside wings, the outer edge on each side starting from the mouth of a *Makara*. The purlin ends are still retained and the ornamentation is enhanced by lining the fringes with strings of beads, scrolling out the crest into beautiful arabasques and crowning the wedge-shaped finial with a grinning *Kīrttimukha* in low relief. In the south, the crest of the arches on the Māmallapuram Rathas are quite plain (Fig. 11) and it is not till the later part of the 9th century that the niches are decorated with a crowning *Kīrttimukha* in low relief (Tamil: *Siṅhamugam*) in the Kailāśanātha Kānchī. The beginning of the 5th century finds it in full relief with the exception of the brick temple of Bhitargāon (middle of 5th cent.); the miniature window patterns of the early Gupta structural edifices have plain finials, without the lion heads. The foretaste, given at Gandhāra, is carried to its legitimate conclusion at Ellorā in the later part of the 6th century, on the facade of the Viśvakarmā Chaitya, where a pyramidal shape is obtained by superimposing a full pattern on a split window (Fig. 9). With the Viśvakarmā the age of excavating huge rock chambers expires and so the Chaitya arches cease to have any functional importance. We are face to face now with a typical ornament at Nālandā and Bhumārā, Fig.10) with the crest divided into two projecting scrolls. The tendency of the gradual contraction of the inner curve, begun in the 1st cent. B.C., reached its culmination here in the 6th century A.D. by being converted into a complete circle[12]

At this point we should pause and turn our attention beyond the seas to enquire whether any simultaneous development was going on in the distant lands of Champā, Cambodia and Java. We are rather disappointed, however, at the utter simplicity and thorough stagnation of the ever changing, favourite Indian architectural pattern, in Indo-China, whose poeple revelled in the art of decoration and perhaps excelled all other nations in compositions of great aesthetic charm. *Gavākshas* of Indo-China and early Java are uuduly flat, extremely broad and monotonously plain without bead mouldings, side wings or *Kīrttimukha* finials. A welcome variety is sought to be created by breaking the inner line into double curves in Chaṇḍi Bhīma. It is very difficult to trace any window pattern on the stupendous Boro-Budur at a superficial glance. But the miniature decorative ornaments embellishing the parapets[13] of each tier are nothing but full fledged Indian devices, completely resolved into scrolls. The various elements are still clearly perceptible and resemble the ornament from the temple of Sobhalde at Saladdapur in Jaipur, to a surprising extent.

By skilful integration, the ingenious craftsmen of Java, converted the window pattern into magnificent *Toraṇas*. The portals and niches of Central Java *e.g.* Chaṇḍi Kalasan and Boro Budur, are crowned by fantastic *Kīrttimukhas*, and the richly wrought jamb-carvings, descending from their mouths, end in graceful sweeps culminating in *Makara* spouts. "The very *Kāla-Makara* ornament, though undoubtedly derived from Indian Art is the outcome of an indigenous combination and development", says Dr. Vogel.

But we are afraid to admit the validity of his assertion that "both these decorative device and the gateway which it adorns are not Indian but Indo-Javanese and the same may be said with regard to the monument to which they belong."[14] It has been shown by us elsewhere that of the so-called *Kāla-Makara* complex, not in its elements, but the design itself, is purely Indian.[15] So it can scarcely be contended that the combination of *Kāla* and *Makara* was an original formula devised by the indigenous followers of the Indian master builders of Java. History bears quite contrary testimony. In the closing centuries of the pre-Christian era, floral devices have been noticed to issue out of the distended jaws of the gaping *Makara*, at Bhārhūt, Sānchī and Amarāvatī. Even as early as the 1st century B.C. *Makaras* have been placed at the springing of the semi-circular arch bands in the Ganeśa Gumphā, Rāṇī Gumphā and Jayā-Vijayā Cave, on the Udayagiri Hill in Orissa. Arch bands are frequently made to start from *Makara* mouths in the interior side walls of the aisles of Cave XXVI, at Ajantā.[16] Representation of the *Makara* and the *Kīrttimukha* head at the springing and crown of the great arch respectively on the exterior facade of 5th century excavation (Cave XIX, Ajantā) have also been just noticed. Moreover, in the Vaitāl Deul, Orissa (*c.* 8th century A.D.) the entire window device flows out of the grinning head of the *Kīrttimukha*, the usual *Makara* spouts projecting from the springing. To crown all, the beautiful *Toraṇa* in front of the Mukteśvara Temple, is decorated with two exquisitely carved *Makara* heads, projecting outwards from the springing of the arch. Moreover, the trefoiled arches forming the background of the *Pārśva-Devatās* of Liṅgarāja are capped by a *Kīrttimukhas* and have *Makaras* at the springing with projecting spouts. In the face of these evidences it is, indeed, difficult to accept the conclusion of Dr. Vogel, that it was left to the indigenous artist of Java to combine the *Kīrttimukha* and the *Makara* into an organic motif. On the contrary, there is every likelihood that the combined motif integrated in the Chaitya window niches migrated to Java from Orissa itself. Recent researches have resulted in the discovery of literary and epigraphic records establishing close connection of ancient Kaliṅga with Suvarṇabhūmi or the Indonesian archipelago, and the migration of Orissa artists to Java may not after all happen to be a fantastic conjecture.[17]

Let us now resume our narrative of the development of the Chaitya-wiindow motif, in India, from the point where we left it. Towards the close of the 6th century A.D. Orissa appears as a powerful luminary on the aesthetic horizon of India. From this time upto the close of the 13th century, the overwhelming profusion of the *Gavāksha* pattern in the Orissan monuments of every possible variety and combination is striking indeed. Generally three classes of this pattern are to be noticed in the Orissa temples, *viz.* the large devices on the *Rāhā* portion of the *Rekha deul*, depicted in continuity of the tradition of the great Chaitya-arches[18]; the miniature niches on the various mouldings, friezes and cornices in imitation of the Gupta convention, and the diaper pattern lately evolved in the post-Gupta era. According to Oriyā *Śilpaśāstras*, the ornamental device on the *Rāhāpaga* above the projecting lion over the *Bāḍa*, is technically called *Bho*, variously classified as per details in the innermost circle. There are three classes of niches in Orissan architecture; they are named according to their crowning structures, *viz.* those surmounted by *Piḍās* are alled *Piḍā-Mundei*, those by *Khākharā* are called *Khākharā-Mundei*, and those by *Vajras* are called *Vajra-Mundei*. A glance at this triple form will conclusively prove that the so-called *Vajras* are nothing but the representations of miniature *Gavākshas* encircling peeping heads. Hence we may conclude that these devices were technically called *Vajras:* The recently discovered Oriyā *Śilpaśāstras* entitled the *Bhubana Prabeśa* and the *Bhubana-pradipa*, which are but the variant editions of the same treatise on architecture, speak often of an ornament called the *Vajra*.

The unfailing regularity, with which every phase of the evolution of the remarkable motif is recorded simultaneously throughout India, is a phenomenon worthy of attention. The *Kīrttimukha* is found simply stuck on the finial at Ajantā in the Gupta style with no organic connection. In Orissa, in the early part of the 7th century A.D., however, the complete design is made to emerge from the grinning mouth of this glory-face,' in the Śatrughṇeśvara temple, Bhuvaneśvara

(Fig. 13). This development is echoed on the contemporary rock-cut edifices at Ellora (Fig. 15). The *Bho*, as we see it on the projecting band on the *Rāhāpaga*, is itself superimposed on another divided window, following the arrange ment on the facade of Viśvakarmā Cave, and stereotyped on the Gupta edifices of Deogarh, Sārnath and other places. Apparently, the Śatrughṇeśvara pattern is rather clumsily conceived and imperfectly worked out. Two scroll convolutions on both sides of the *Kīrttimukha* face, which is flatly carved, like the type on the brick temple of Sirpur, are the starting points for the later transformation of the whole pattern into floral arabesques. The beads lining the edges are so disproportionately large and prominent that the device may be called a conglomeration of beaded curves. The lower ends of the wings are further scrolled out in correspondence with the contemporary form on the Huchimalliguḍi temple at Aihole (Fig. 12). The Gupta structural tradition is even more pronounced in the Paraśurāmeśvara temple, Bhuvaneśvara (*c*. 8th cent.). The profusion of divided windows and the hanging garlands round the floriated necks with half-lotus rosette crowns, distinctly savour of the Sārnāth and Nālandā forms. The Dhārwar technique of carving innermost medallion into a series of retreating circular mouldings was given effect to also, in Orissa to gradually lead the eye to the very depth, without offering any sudden contrast of light and darkness, caused by the perpendicular cutting of the edges. Although the beads are also less obtrusive in Paraśurāmeśvara (Fig. 14), the *Kīrttimukha* is placed at the head of a long funnel-shaped neck and approaches the conventional type of a horned lion. The tiger-like face of Śatrughṇeśvara is, on the other hand, immediately stuck in its proper place in the *Bho* of the Vaitāl Deul, Bhuvaneśvara (*c*. 8th century), which is further decorated by interesting *Makaras* with curled up projecting spouts at the springing, reminiscent of similar treatment of contemporary six pure bronzes. The *Vajras* are carved in the fashion of the *Bhos*, but sometimes flanking little *Gaṇas* are added, paving the way for the evolution of the coat-of-arms style of the later period. A great split window is carved on the southern and northern faces of the Vaitāl *Mastaka*, and in future all the gable-roofed shrines of medieval times *e.g.* the Teki-kā-Mandir at Gwalior, came to be rendered in identical way. A notable diviation is to be marked on the southern face of the *Rāhāpaga* of the neighbouring Iśāneśvara, where the inner line of the divided *Bho* follows a square frame instead of the usual curved one.

It is very difficult to do full justice to the *Gavāksha* devices of Mukteśvara temple, Bhuvaneśvara (*c.* 9th century A.D.), so varied in form and exquisitely fashioned are they. A notable feature of the early group of temples in Bhuvaneśvara is the currency of almost identical types; as the *Vajras* were mere replicas of the larger *Bhos* no great divergences of form were visible. For the first time, in the Mukteśvara, is to be seen a series of complicated ornaments in miniature which do not agree with the principal motif. So far, also, the main outline of the design had been preserved in purity, but in the Mukteśvara a marked tendency towards the gradual conversion of the design into an ornament of scrolled foliage and concentric circles in strict consonance with identical development in Chālukyan architecture (Fig. 17) is glaringly apparent. The patterns on the Chitragupta temple, Khājurāho and Gharwa temple, Allahabad, of about the same date betray the sign of the age to a considerable degree (Figs. 16, 25). The *Vajra* of the lower pilasters of Vaitāl Deul, is transferred to the *Rekha* portion of the *Rāhāpaga* of the Mukteśvara as an exquisitely modelled and charmingly designed *Bho*, resembling an armorial insignia of typical Orissan style, unique and novel in conception (Fig. 18). The order and beauty of the whole design are no less apparent than the variety of the decoration, displaying a pleasing richness. The *Kīrttimukha* face gains full relief and is a masterpiece of fantastic imagery. The *Pādas* of *Pābhāga* are carved alternately with peculiar developments of the Chaitya-window type, one consisting of a trefoiled device caused by the superimposition of a full circle over segments, and the other by changing the inner circle into an elongated arch like *Toraṇa*, flanked by stiff spiral scrolls of beautiful flowing curves of purely abstract form, unassociated with foliage and conceived in a spirit of stately simplicity, as afforded by the *Bho* of the *Jagamohana* on the southern facade. The device conforms to the far simpler type on the brick temple of Siddheśvara, in Bankura, West Bengal (Fig. 26) reminding us of the abstract wooden decorations on the Japanese temple tops—later adopted as the *Bho* of the Brahmeśvara *Rekha Deul*. It may be mentioned here that this script-like phase of the window pattern is strictly confined to the North. The southern genius revelled in the multiplication of the concentric circles of the *Kudu* type.[19] Orissa as the meeting ground of the North and the South is richly represented by both these variant translations.

On an examination of the *Bho* of the Liṅgarāja temple, Bhuvaneśvara (*c.* 1000 A.D.), the original design appears to be almost obliterated as a result of the craftsmen translating the idea in different way (Fig. 19). It is a most complicated ornament composed of a host of reclining figures, musicians, *Kinnaras*, scrolls and beaded strings. Although all these elements are made to follow the swelling curve of the medallion, still, as an ornament, it is scarcely convincing. The *Vajras* on the other hand are endowed with decorative merit, They are trefoil-shaped ornaments made of intricate bands of concentric circles and segments of circles denoting a further progression of the Mukteśvara type. The tapering out has been emphasized by the reclining figures as well as the *Kīrttimukha* and by doing away with the side wings completely. The ornament has been further enriched by the addition of flame-like scrolls on the edges of the circles, in striking analogy to the contemporary Chola device of the South. From the 11th century, the *Vajras*, indiscriminately represented so long on the edifices from the 4th to the 10th century A.D., are found to have been assigned definite places *e.g.* on the *Pada* of the *Pābhāga*, tops of the miniature niches and occasionally of the pilasters, in regular well-ordered succession. Horizontal mouldings are often excluded. Besides the augmentation of the number of concentric circles and the replacement of the human figures by beautiful parrots (Fig. 20), no revolutionary change was effected in the Ananta Vāsudeva, Bhuvaneśvara (*c.* 12th cent.). Identical tendency is to be found in the contemporary Laksmī temple, Puri. But the climax of the evolution of the Chaitya-window motif, which had been experiencing such vicissitudes of shape and design throughout these fourteen long centuries, is finally attained, through the intermediate Brahmeśvara form (Fig. 29), in the Rājarāṇī temple, Bhuvaneśvara (*c.* 11th cent.). The *Bho* of this temple, with its abstract linear form and rhythmic sinuous meanderings, looks more like the calligraphic medieval Islamic script than any direct descendant of a pre-Christian architectural form of India. (Fig. 30). The scroll crests are taller, more compact and at the same time more flowing than those of Mukteśvara. Closely akin examples are the patterns of Nilkaṇṭha Mahādeva in Marwar and Khajuraho in Bundelkhand (Figs. 27 and 28). The *Vajras* in Rājarāṇī carved on the tops of the particular class of niches called the *Vajra-Mundei* on the *Pāda* of the *Pābhāga* resemble the Mukteśvara and the Liṅgarāja types, with turned up side spirals and flattened circles more or less elliptical. In the Sūryya temple at Konārak (13th cent. A.D.), the final transformation of the *Gavāksha* in its circular phase, can be advantageously studied. The utter ruin of the *Rekha Deul* precludes the possibility of knowing the type of *Bho* that adorned it. But the *Pādas* of the *Pābhāga* of the *Piṣṭa* of the *Jagamohana* are invaribaly carved with regular succession of stereotyped ornaments (Figs. 21). Each medallion consists of three concentric circles issuing from the *Kīrttimukha* head; the side wings are indicated by elongated spirals, embellished with scroll mouldings carved on both sides of the grinning monster. Closely analogous examples of exact similarity are offered by the contemporary *Kudus* of Chidambaram temple in the South (Fig. 23). Sometimes a variant form is obtained by repeating concentric bands one on top of another and supplementing it by recumbent figures in imitation of the Liṅgarāja pattern. The whole conception is clarified and ordered, the decoration, more brilliant and more sophisticated, without any loss of vitality (Fig. 22).

Such is the romantic life history of the *Chaitya* or Sun window motif. Its tenure was prolonged till the 16th century and the Vijaynagara ruins embody this form as an ornament of florid arabesque, which ultimately assumed the shape of a *Kudu* in Madura, as late as the 18th century A.D. Even it may be suspected that the foliated ornamental arches of the Mughal column bases of Agra and Delhi were derivative forms of the *Gavāksha* motif as may be disclosed by a careful study of pillar bases of Sher Shāh's mosque in Purānā Qillā, Delhi, which ultimately supplied many ingredients of Mughal architectural formulae. Some of the Bengal brick temples of the 17th-18h century also retain this peculiar pattern, specially in Burdwan. Different phases of an ordered evolution of this particular motif illustrates the remarkable persistency of a structural form originally derived from purely utilitarian uses, in the garb of a decorative device of infinite beauty and charm, even when the structural significance had been completely lost sight of. They also strikingly show the way how, through the ages, the wonderful ingenuity of the Indian craftsman has contrived to transform gradually a simple architectonic feature into a pure ornament faintly recalling the original pattern*

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* All the sketches have been drawn by the author.

References

1. Strzygowski, *Altai-Iran Und Volkerwanderung*, Leipzig, 1917, Abb. 92 and 142.

2. Kramrisch—*The Hindu Temple*, Vol. II, Calcutta, 1946, pp. 318-22. Coomaraswamy—Early Indian Architecture, *Eastern Art*. Vol. III, pp. 180-217. Brown, Percy—*Indian Architecture*, Vol. 1, Bombay, 1956 (for sketches of early examples).

3. At Gaṇeśa Gumphā the arches have, at their springing, a couple of *Makaras* facing each other inwardly, anticipating the later convention of invariably associating this motif with the *Makara* and the *Kīrttimukha*, from the Post-Gupta era onwards.

4. Groslier—*Researches sur les Cambodgiens*, Paris, 1912, Ch. 29.

5. An exhaustive study of the cognate *Makara Toraṇa* motif, tracing its development from the earliest many-lobed horizontal arch reminiscent of Pallava pattern, to a single wide arch influenced by north Indian and Javanese *Gavāksha* and *Toraṇa* motifs and its ultimate culmination into a writhing foliated arch ending in multihooded Nāga, has been made by Countess G. de Coral-Remusat in "Concerning some Influence in Khmer Art as exemplified in the Borders of Pediments." *Indian Art & Letters*, Vol. VII, No. 2, 1933, pp. 110-120.

6. G. Groslier—*Angkor*, Paris. 1924, fig. 9.

7. Codrington & Rothenstein, *Ancient India*, Vol. I, 1926, p. 24.

8. Reference to the solar symbolism of the great window is made by Rowland in "*Art and Architecture of India*", Baltimore. 1953, p. 71.

9. Cunninghum, *The Stupa of Bharhut*, London 1899, Pl. 4.

10. Havell, *Indian Architecture*. p. 2,

11. Marshall, *Archaeological Survey Annual Report*, 1919-20, Pl. XXIV. fig. 2.

12. The symbolic interpretation of the sun-window suggested by Havell is given in *Ancient & Medieval Architecture of India*, pp. 56-57.

13. Krom, *Hindoe—Javaensche Kunst*, vol. III, pl. 29.

14. J. P. Vogel, "The Relation between the Art of Java and India, *Influences of Indian Art.*, London. 1925.

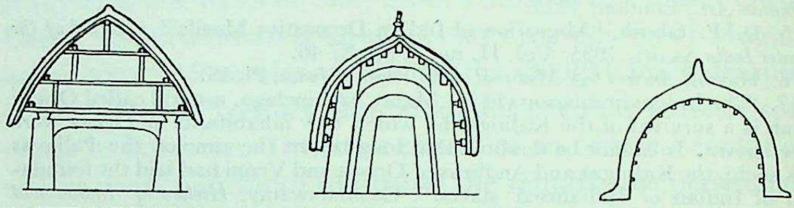
15. D. P. Ghosh, "Migration of Indian Decorative Motifs"', *Journal of the Greater India Society*, 1935, Vol. II. no. 1, pp. 37-46.

16. Havell, *Ancient and Medieval Architecture of India*, Pl. 46.

17. 'The Indian immigrants in the Malay Archipelago. are still called Orang Kling is a survival of the Kalinga, by which the inhabitants of Orissa were once known. It cannot be doubted that long before the time of the Pallavas at Kāñchi, the Kaliṅgas and Andhras of Orissa and Veṅgi had laid the foundation of Indian or Indianised states.". Coomarswamy, *History of Indian and Indonesian Art*, p. 157.

18. Only lately I have come to know from the traditional craftsmen of Bhuvaneśvara that they are known as "*Ardha-Chātaki*" significantly placed just in the middle of the soaring tower, above whose *Mastaka* or head, the tiny *Chātaka* birds love to disport amidst the clouds.

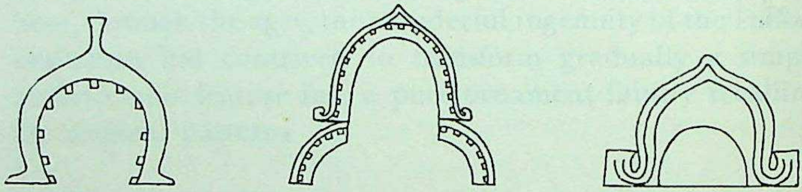
19. Jouveau Dubreuil—*Archaeologie da Sud de l'Inde*, Vol. I, Paris. 1914, Fig. 27.



1. SEVEN RAFTERED HUT BENGAL

2. LOMASH RISHI CAVE 3rd CENTURY B.C.

3. BHAJA CAVE & BHARHUT 2nd CENTURY B.C.

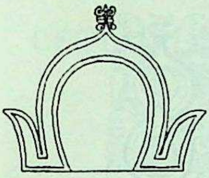


4. BEDSA, NASIK, KARLE 1st CENTURY B.C.

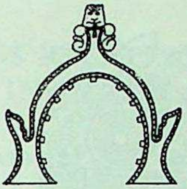
5. TAKHT-I-BAHI, GANDHARA, 1st CENT.A.D.

6. MATHURA Early 1st CENTURY A.D.

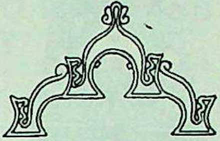
Text Fig. 1



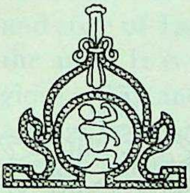
7. AMARAVATI
2nd CENTURY A.D.



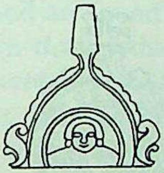
8. AJANTA, CAVE XIX &
DEOGARH, 5th CENT. A.D.



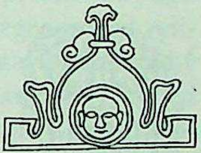
9. VISVAKARMA CAVE
ELLORA, C.600 A.D.



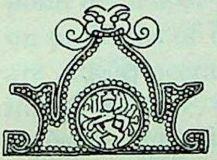
10. SIVA-TEMPLE, BHUMARA
LATE 5th CENTURY A.D.



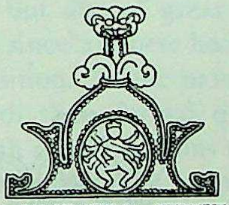
11. RATHAS, MAMALLAPURAM
7th CENTURY A.D.



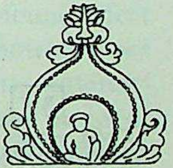
12. HUCHIMALLIGUDI, AIHOLE
C.7th CENTURY A.D.



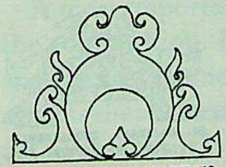
13. SATRUGHNESWARA, BHUBANESWAR
C.8th CENTURY A.D.



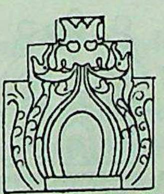
14. PARASURAMESWARA, BHUBANESWAR
C.8th CENTURY A.D.



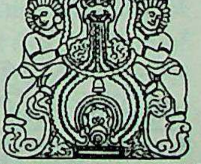
15. KAILASA, ELURA
8th CENTURY A.D.



16. CHITRAGUPTA, KHAJURAHO
C.10th CENTURY A.D.

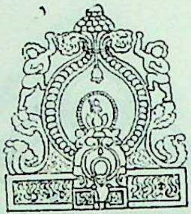


17. KEDARESWARA, BALAGAMVE
C.10th CENTURY A.D.

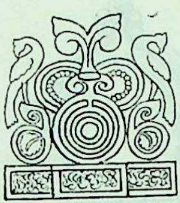


18. MUKTESWARA, BHUBANESWAR
9th - 10th CENT.A.D.

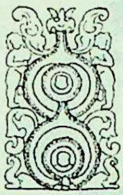
Text Fig. 2



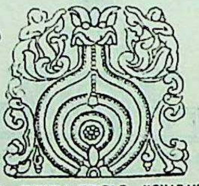
19. LINGARAJA, BHUBANESWAR
11th CENTURY A.D.



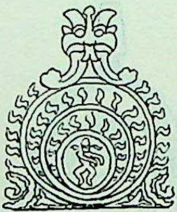
20. ANANTA VASUDEVA, BHUBANESWAR
C.12th CENTURY A.D.



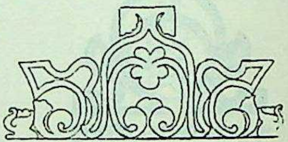
21. SURYYA TEMPLE, KONARAK
13th CENTURY A.D.



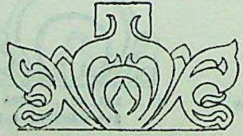
22. SURYYA TEMPLE, KONARAK
13th CENTURY A.D.



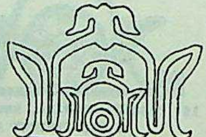
23. CHIDAMBARAM
13th CENTURY A.D.



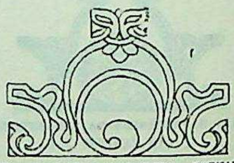
24. MUKTESWARA, BHUBANESWAR
9th - 10th CENT.A.D.



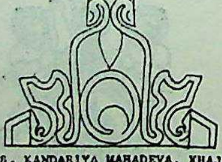
25. GHARWA, ALLAHABAD
C.10th CENTURY A.D.



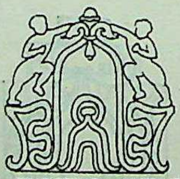
26. SIDDHESVARA, BANKURA
C.10th CENTURY A.D.



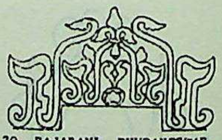
27. NILKANTHA MAHADEVA, MARWAR
C.11th CENTURY A.D.



28. KANDARIYA MAHADEVA, KHAJURAHO
11th CENTURY A.D.



29. BRAHMESWARA, BHUBANESWAR
EARLY 11th CENT. A.D.



30. RAJARANI, BHUBANESWAR
LATE 11th CENTURY A.D.

Text Fig. 3

CERTAIN NOTIONS RELATING TO FORM AND STYLE IN INDIAN ART

NIHARRANJAN RAY

IN this paper a brief attempt is proposed to be made to discuss *certain* notions that seem to have deeply affected the form and style of Indian art and are found to be present through the ages. It is well-known that myths and legends and religious rituals and practices conditioned the visual form of many a creative fancy, thought, idea and image and determined many a *bhaṅga* (posture), *bhaṅgī* (attitude), *āsana* (sitting position), *sthāna* (standing position), attribute (*lakshaṇa*), and also a language of gestures (*mudrā*). These are not merely of iconographic interest, but also of great interest from the point of view of form, since all these had a profound effect on problems of composition. At the moment, however, we are not concerned with these formal questions, interesting as they are, but with certain notions that have an ideological or theoretical basis and yet have profoundly affected the general style and character of Indian art. No attempt however, is being made to be exhaustive; suffice if it helps to indicate how ideological notions have affected Indian art-form and style.

A most important character of style is the linear rhythm of the composition. It is not so much a balanced distribution of space and volume as the linear arrangement of the figured objects that determine the composition and its effect in Indian art. Whether it is an individual figure or a group of figured objects, lines in smooth, rhythmic curves, one responding to or setting off the other and all in tune with a pivotal line, bind all isolated, independent units into a single harmonious whole. In early narrative bas-reliefs, as in Barhut, Mathura and Amaravati, when the real secret of this character is not yet fully discovered, one can witness this notion in a very simple and direct device—a stout stalk of a creeper moving in a regular undulating curve along the entire length of a frieze or coping stone and sheltering in its curves isolated narratives, thus binding the latter in one single sequence. But already simultaneously an attempt is made to work out a more artistically significant method in which every single part of a figured object as much as all the figured objects in a given area of space, a panel, for example, come to be subjected to the discipline of a linear rhythm that binds all isolated units into a bond of rhythmical unity. Once the secret is known it is not only never given up but comes to play an increasingly important role in composition right until the subsidence of the 'classical' tradition late in the medieval period. It is only in what is generally known as the medieval tradition of art, notably in paintings, for example, of the West-Indian miniature tradition, the Rājasthānī and Pāhāḍī traditions, in our medieval folk art and in craft patterns and designs, for example, in textile, that we find an exception to this general linear principle. The reason of this exception is well-known and can be historically explained; but the general principle is as referred to above. One of the chief characteristic of this principle was that the line avoid sharp angles, sudden and quick jerks and violently abrupt movements. It takes a smoothly gliding movement from one direction to another or in the same direction, all minor lines being held in a sweeping major line, equally smooth and gliding, the essential effect intended being an overall rhythmical unity and harmony, much as one notices in classical Indian music.

This stylistic character seems to be the outcome of the ruling Indian ideology that life is one whole, nature is one indivisible unity, and what to ordinary eyes appear as independent isolated units without any integral relation is, indeed, bound by an invisible, but realizable, bond of rhythmic harmony. A Vedantist, for example, finds rhythm and harmony in everything that he finds around him, and everything is held in the unity of the universal self, the *Ātman* or the *Brahman*. This idea is more or less general even amongst ordinary individuals, not necessarily on the plane of realization but on that of feeling and emotion. Visually, the idea, very naturally translates itself in terms of line, which is the connecting thread of unity, and since nature *in its essence* is considered to be tensionless, reposeful, rhythmical and harmonious, so life and nature presented in art reflect these qualities and that, first in the single lines themselves and finally in the total linear composition.

In the second instance, this ideology is strongly reflected in the plastic treatment of the volume, in the classical tradition. Even a casual student of Indian sculpture and painting must have observed how smoothly rounded and 'raised' the figured objects are, how smooth and gliding is the plastic treatment of the volume with one plane slowly and imperceptibly gliding and merging in to the next, how even in respect of atheme or content that is supposedly one of high tension, violent passion and movement, there is not much of any suggestion such high tension or violent passion either in the lines themselves or in plastic treatment. The medium through which movement and direction are expressed is the composition of the lines and plastic surfaces. The plastic treatment itself has a quality of abstraction and simplification; for example, in portraying a human body in agitated action, there is no attempt at any realistic representation of the tension of the muscles and nerves and arteries; indeed, they are shown in an attitude of subdued vigour, even of dignified abandon and relaxation, and yet full of life's vitality and energy. Tension, according to Indian conception of being, of *chetanā* or life movement, is an accident, and not the norm of being, that is, of life; life is at its best and fullest when it is in a state of repose, relaxed and yet full of the movement of breath and blood. Not without meaning the *Vishṇudharmottaram* prescribes that figured objects should be shown 'endowed with life, as if breathing,' and hence, swelling from within as it were, and filling up all ups and downs, breaks and joints to a fully rounded and smooth form. In the *Bhagavadgītā* Śrī Kṛishṇa asks Arjuna to engage himself in fighting the forces of evil, but without passion and hatred within himself, and without interest in the results of his action. Action that does not effect tension of the mind is the ideal action according to Indian ideology and if it is not in the inner being why show it in the outer surfaces of the body, seems to have been the logic of the character of plastic vision we are speaking of. The plastic treatment, that is, the character of the modelling of volume of the Durgā-mahishamardinī sculptures, of the high reliefs representing Vishṇu Avatāra and Śiva legends at Ellora and Badami, the Natarāja bronzes of the South, for example, or as a matter of that of any dancing figure or group or fighting group in sculpture and painting, can be fully understood and appreciated only from this ideological point of view.

Life and nature from this point of view are always dynamic; indeed dynamism (activity of the *prāṇa*, or *chetanā*) is the intrinsic character of life and nature, and since an art-object is an object made in conformity and harmony with nature, and since content of art is to be derived from or at least have reference to life and nature, the kind of plastic treatment is one of what is called dynamic naturalism. This is, in fact, what is meant by the statement (endowed with life, as if breathing) of the *Vishṇudharmottaram*, referred to above.

The same text has it that the rules of painting are very difficult to be understood without a knowledge of the science of dancing, and points out that like observation and imagination, dancing is another source for the artist to draw upon. The statements are very significant in relation to the question of plastic treatment in art as well as, perhaps in relation to that of linear rhythm and harmony. Nowhere is the plasticity of the human body so vividly and vibrantly demonstrated than in dance, nowhere else also the linear rhythm and harmony; indeed, it is in dance that one experiences what the human body is capable of in terms of plasticity of volume and line, a plasticity born of intensity of experience.

Directly related and inspired by the ideology referred to above, is another that considers man, animal and plant life as all essentially the same; they form part of the same world of nature and are subject to the same laws of life. In earliest Indian art, the full inner significance of this notion does not seem to have been reflected, but that the artists had a feeling of it and wanted to represent this imaginative fact is proved by the extensive role that the animal and plant world plays in it side by side with man. Indeed, man has the same meaning and value as those of animals, trees and plants and the latter receive the same loving care and attention as the former do. This native and simple approach to human life and nature is a common property of all simple and primitive human societies, clear reflections of which can be seen in early and folk literatures all the world over. In Indian literature and art, attribution of human faculties to plants and animals is taken for granted, and can be seen until a very late period in her history. But this is not being exactly meant by the essential oneness of nature and man, though what we see in the narrative reliefs of Barhüt and Sanchi, for example, may be said to be an external aspect of the essential meaning.

This meaning lies in the consistent, continuous and vibrant sap of life that is common to man, animal and nature, and this sap of life is seen and felt at its best in the lithe, smooth, flexible, fresh and youthful life of a creeper or the young branch of a tree, as matter of that, in youthful freshness, litheness and flexibility of plant and animal life. Already by about the second century A.D., in the art of the Āndhra school, nature, that is plant and animal life, it will be seen, recedes to the background, and as days wear on, man becomes the pivot of art and nature is altogether pushed out from the area of sculptured space; in painting it serves only as a background. But, this is only externally, for, inwardly a transformation of significance takes place; the essential quality of plant and animal life that is its youthful lithenesss and flexibility, its glossy smoothness and consistent, continous and vibrant flux of life are passed on to the human body itself which becomes the receptacle of all that is in nature, the vehicle, so to say, of the latter. This transmutation of nature in art is one of the most significant factual character of Indian art and should hence be understood and appreciated in its proper ideological perspective.

One other thing flow from this notion and this too is of some interest. It will be observed that throughout what we call traditional Indian art, there is no portrayal of old age, even of mature age, and it is youth and its freshness and creativity that receive all the offerings of workmanship and admiration of the artists. Our gods and goddesses are all young, eternally sixteen, and they are supposed never to grow older. For, youthful freshness, litheness, vibrancy and flexibility are what constitutes life at its best and fullest, in man, animal and plants. Needless to say, that in art it is rendered through the plastic treatment of the volume as well as of the line.

The peculiar character of the modelling of the volume and of the line in Indian art is not a little conditioned by this notion.

Somewhat connected with and conditioned by this notion is the characteristic sensuousness of Indian art, which is difficult to miss. More than one commentator of this art have noticed this character with amazement, especially its insistence in the context of the spiritual character of Indian thought and religious content of Indian art. From the traditional Indian point of view, however, there is no essential contradiction between sensuousness and spiritual quest or as a matter of that between the former and religious aspirations. The senses and the mind are as much a part of life as spirit is, and have their proper place in life as well as in art. If this fundamental fact of life was left unrecognized, then there would have been no necessity of evolving, as an integral part of early Indian thought and spiritual quest, the two primary *vargas* or categories of life, of *artha* and *kāma*, or the two graduated activities of the soul, namely those of *prāṇa* and *mana*, the sense and the mind, the activities of those latter being in some way based on the former. This aspect of the question we have already tried to discuss elsewhere, and besides, it is not relevant to the point at issue.

Much of the characteristic sensuousness which is unmistakable even in cult images and in a few of the more subtly spiritualized portrayals, mainly Buddhist and Śaiva, can be ethnologically and historically explained. Somewhat of this sensuousness, especially in so far as female figures are concerned, is admittedly derived from primitive fertility cults that still have a very great hold on the Indian mind. Symbols and images of the abundance of nature and its inexhaustiveness are the characteristic visual facts of fertility, and since women are visibly the instruments of procreation they are represented in both rural and sophisticated art and literature as figures of abundance, and hence the procreational parts receive emphasis. The inner meaning of fertility cults was re-inforced by the mother-goddess cults and the various Tāntrik cults of later institutional religions; the motherhood aspect of the divine and the *prakṛiti* aspect of the Sāṁkhya system represent the quintessence of the ideologically earlier fertility and mother-goddess cults.

But, at the moment, our concern is with the question of form and style conditioned by this notion of creative abundance of life and nature which is responsible for the general sensuousness of both male and female figuration in Indian art. Fertility, that is, creative abundance is the effect of the fullest and liveliest functions of *prāṇa* or the vital force of life, that belongs to youth, and the experience of youth that is capable of being seen and felt is sensuous in character. The world of plants and trees in the rains and in spring, the two seasons of fertility and abundance, is a sensuous world where the leaves, twigs and branches are fresh and smooth and lithe and round, exhuming the air and aroma of the vital essence in them, the *praṇa*. The sensuousness of the figured objects in Indian art is thus the sensuousness of nature in its youth, expressed through the subtle, simple and abstract plastic treatment of the body surface, the smooth and flexible roundity of forms and the rhythm of their lines. It is not an impassioned and violent experience of which tension is the keynote, but a mellow and joyous one that lits up the face in a subdued smile, conscious of the warm sap that runs through the lineaments of the body in consistent, rounded and rhythmic flow and makes the body feel its glow and the rounded fulness of its vitality. The modelled line and the subtle smooth and rounded plasticity seek their way to respond to this inner experience.

A few words on the traditional use of colour in Indian painting are perhaps called for in explanation of the general attitude in this connection.

From more or less elaborate prescriptions for colour application in technical texts like the *Vishṇudharmottaram* and the *Śilparana* as well as from the paintings themselves that have come down to us, it seems clear that colour has both descriptive and suggestive or symbolical significance. The seen and observed object, the *Vishṇudharmottaram* states, should be painted in colour that belongs not apparently but *naturally* to the object. It thus serves a purely illustrative purpose which will be clear from detailed colour prescriptions for various contemporary ethnic types of India as well as for various objects of nature so vividly illustrated by the paintings of Bagh and Ajanta. In its method of application, colour is local, strictly confined within the limits of the respective objects, and is distinctively descriptive of the latter, descriptive, be it noted, not so much of the appearance, but of the nature of the object. But at the same time it reflects, whenever necessary, also the effects of light and atmosphere and environments. We are told in the same text just referred to, that when the colour of water resembles that of *lapis-lazuli* it shows the effect of the reflection of the sky in the water, but the natural colour of water resembles moonlight and is seen in the falling down of water-falls. Both the attitudes are descriptive or illustrative, belonging to the world of *drishtam*, the seen and the observed, and can be noticed employed in actual execution on many an example, but in one case, that is, when it does not take into account the effect of light and atmosphere, the colour is called 'true'; when it does, it is regarded as 'untrue'. Strictly speaking, this is perhaps a distinction without a difference, since, in the above example, the moonlight colour of water when it falls down a waterfall, seems, to be as much the effect of light and atmosphere as the *lapis-lazuli* colour of water reflecting the sky.

But colour in its suggestive and symbolical significance was also very largely made use of, and in a happy blending, with the descriptive and illustrative in one and the same composition. This belongs to the world of the unseen and unobserved, of *adṛishṭam*, the world of imagination, intellect and emotion. Technical texts prescribe a large, almost unlimited range of colour for facts and objects of imagination, thought and emotion, for example, of gods and goddesses, of *apsaras*, *gandharvas* and the like, for abstract qualities of *sattva*, *rajah* and *tamas*, of good and purity and evil and vileness, of emotional states of every description, and so on and so forth. This is nowhere so clearly demonstrated as in a special class of painting known to the *Śilparatna* as *rasa-chitras*, the pictures of emotions in which particular *rasa* or emotion is prescribed to be painted in a particular colour. The well-known series of *rāga* and *rāginī* miniature paintings of the Rājasthānī and Pāhāḍī schools are best examples of *rasa-chitras*, illustrating the suggestive and symbolical significance of colour. This is also clearly noticeable in the hieratic *sādhanas*, and *dhyānas* where colours are prescribed for particular divinities to suggest or symbolize the abstract qualities and concepts they represent, and is best illustrated in the medieval manuscript paintings of Bihar, Bengal, Nepal and Tibet.

Colour in Indian consciousness has still another, a deeper significance than mere filling in outlined space and gaps between objects in various tones or grades of opaqueness or density and lightness or luminosity. Kramrisch explains this significance very clearly by bringing out the meaning of certain early Brahmanical and Buddhist passages,[1] a significance which is easily understood and accepted by the Indian mind. A passage in the *Chhāndogya Upanishad*,[2] she points out, seems to suggest that colour is itself form; indeed the word *rūpa* has been used to signify colour, meaning thereby that colour is but the intrinsic form itself. Hīnayāna and Mahāyāna Buddhist tradition as recorded in the *Kathāvatthu* and the *Abhidharmakosha* respectively[3], seems to indicate that colour is but the visible substance, 'the form which is visible under the appearance of colour', *rūpa* and *varṇa*, form and colour are intrinsically the same. The substantiality, the dense compactness and intensity of colour in classical Indian painting (as in Ajanta and Badami), to a great extent also later (as in Rājasthānī and Pāhāḍī paintings, in our folk paintings), is derived from this notion of colour viewed as intrinsic form of substance. Not only bodies of object held within limits of lines but even the sky which is limitless are regarded as substance that makes itself visible in colour. Space is thus 'felt' substance, solid and compact; hence is the representation of the sky, for example, in Indian painting as a solid and compact sheet of colour, *lapis-lazuli* blue, for instance. Indeed, the *Abhidharmakosha* says, "some make of the empyrean which appears like a wall of *lapis-lazuli*, a colour."[4] As Kramrisch puts it: "Space....is a certain category of substantial colour. Colour in painting holds space", and she explains the validity of her statement by reference to the wall-paintings of Ajanta.

The conception of space just referred to would also explain why, except in certain early instances (mature reliefs on the gates of the Great Stūpa at Sanchi, on the frieze of the Queen's Cave, Khandagiri, near Bhuvanesvar, for example) there is throughout the whole range of Indian sculpture, no attempt at creating any illusion of space or imaginary depth. Universe throughout is solid mass consisting of formless, finest and invisible particles of matter; there is thus no space which is empty or void. It is these infinitesimal particles or atoms of matter that condense into figured objects arising from the depths and taking up the respective positions allotted to them on the face of the stone, or, else similarly condense to form the background. Indeed, space, figure and background in Indian relief sculptures are all made of the same substance. Oversecting and figures placed one behind the other are known early in Indian art and are employed throughout in later Indian art, but except at Sanchi or Khandagiri, these services are hardly ever employed to suggest imaginary depth or optical illusion of space; despite oversecting, every figure is to be seen and understood by itself; it is usually shown in normal view, and in natural proportion in relation to one another, except in certain instances at Barhut where a bird's eye view is frankly admitted. Otherwise, in Indian conception there is no looking at the world at a sweeping glance.

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[1] Kramrisch, Stella, *A Survey of Painting in the Deccan*, pp 26-36 and notes.

[2] *Chhāndogya Upanishad*, VI. 4-1., also 6 and 7.

[3] *Kathāvatthu*, P.T.S. edn. p.193; *Abhidharmakosha*, I.28; Rhys Davids, C.A.F., Buddhist Psychological Ethics, p.183.

[4] Kramrisch, Stella, op. cit. p. 27.

In traditional Indian painting there is no source shown of any light that is external to the particular piece of work, and hence, also no cast shadows. Light and darkness are in the transparency and opaqueness of the colours themselves, in their modelling in varying tones, and figures are supposed to 'emerge' or be 'raised' from the depth of darkness (as in the paintings of the 'classical' school) or laid on the surface of space (as in the paintings of the 'medieval' tradition). In both cases, lightness or darkness belongs to the figured objects themselves, and are not thrown on them from some other source. From this point of view there can be no shadows cast by light, for shadows would only affect the integrity of the form of the object. It is derived from the notion that shadows do not belong integrally to the objects of which they are shadows. They are results of something that is outside of the object, and hence non-essential, and non-intrinsic to form.

Just as our cosmological conception of space affects our art form, so does our characteristic conception of time. In visual art, time can be represented, it may be borne in mind, by spatial means alone. Whether it is an imaginative or emotional stituation, the flux of time involved in it, can be represented either by seizing one dramatic movement of it at one of the climaxes, as in Western classical art and the art of the European Renaissance, or by showing the unceasing and eternal process of the flux in some way or other, as in the art of India. The former involves a conception of unity of time and hence of space. Everything happens in a moment of moments, which is the climax of a process originating in and heading from the past, and this climax is made eternal before our eyes. There the figured objects stay for all times. Even where a whole story is represented in its various stages, it is usually the various moments of the series of climaxes that are shown, with the aid of space division and perspective. The idea of flux is no doubt represented thereby, but only seemingly, since what is shown is only several single isolated moments of time. Ideologically, therefore, the contradiction between the moment and the unceasing eternal flux of time remains. Zimmer[1] explains and illustrates the Western and Eastern conceptions of time in art with singular clarity.

According to the Indian conception, however, the reality of time is in its unceasing eternal flux, and moments are of no consequence, since what is moment of moments, the climax, in Western conception is but *māyā*, illusion, *līlā* or sport, of the real which is eternity. The moment of climax is but a bubble in the continuous flow; it bursts and passes into eternity in which all moments are dissolved. Time is Kāla, the devourer, and Śiva is Mahākāla, the great devourer and destroyer, and his consort is Kālī, the Mahāmāyā, the great goddess who builds up illusions which this world is. She indeed represents the play of time; the climaxes of moments are her *līlā*. Therefore, the chief aim of Indian art, so far as representation of time in art is concerned, is to show the unceasing and eternal flux of time, in its dynamic continuity but at the same time, in its unchangeability, for, what is eternal is unchangeable. Quietness, restfulness and tranquility are the qualities of whatever is eternal.

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[1] Zimmer, H., Some aspects of time in Indian art, in Journal of the Indian Society of Oriental Art, 1933, Vol. I, pp. 30-51.

Already in the sculptures of Barhut, and much later in West Indian Jain painting was adopted what is called the method of continuous narration and vertical projection, according to which a succession of events, symbolizing a continuous act of being, is actually represented in simultaneous continuity. The method is noting characteristically Buddhist or Jain, or even Indian, but is simply 'primitive' and can be seen employed in our folk-art and elsewhere in many 'rural' and 'primitive' arts. The notion and the vision, so far as recorded words go, is already as old as the Vedas. Whatever has happened in the past is seen by the mind as happening in the immediate present, and are described as taking place now and here in immediate succession. The flux of time is thus represented in early Buddhist narrative reliefs (except in the mature reliefs of Sanchi where a moment of climax is seized and sought to be shown) as simple simultaneous continuity.

But, in course of time, this conception came to be realized in art and thought in a much wider and deeper significance. This will be evident in such sculptures as those of the Durgā represented in the act of killing the buffalo-demon (Vaital deul image, Bhuvanesvar; the Java image at the Leyden Museum; Deogarh image; Mamallapuram image, for example), Vishṇu-Avatāra and Śaiva images at Ellora and Badami, all Indian Śaiva images in the act of dancing, especially in the Naṭarāja images etc. where are unfolded acts of drama supposedly of intense passion and emotion. But actually, in sculptural rendering, it will be noticed that the main figures are absolutely unaffected by what is going on before their very eyes and in which they themselves are the principal participants. In fact, they seem to be dwelling absolutely in a remotely detached atmosphere of quietness and restfulness where nothing happens in time. To untrained and ignorant eyes, this appears to be very unreal. But to one who sees and knows, here is reality in its essence. For, whatever in these reliefs is happening in the seeming field of dramatic action, is *māyā* or *līlā*, the play of time; its essential flux is seized not in any of their moments of climax, but is presented in its continuous and eternal present. The happenings do not take place only once, they go on for ever and ever. They are states, not moments. Therefore, the question of seizing a dramatic moment does not arise. At the same time, whatever is continuous present, is eternity, and eternity does not take into account and is indifferent to what is going on in the flux of time, and is therefore restful. Thus is the paradox of the continuous and eternal flux and of the moment of time resolved in Indian art. And, no better example of this characteristic conception of time is to be found in art than in the images of the Dhyānī Buddhas of Sarnath and in that of Śiva Maheśamūrti at Elephanta. Here is eternity in resposeful rest representing not the moment of moments but the ever present continuousness of a state of being.

A DIFFICULT PASSAGE IN THE PAÑCHATANTRA: LAKSHMĪ-VIḌAMBANAM

V. S. Agrawala

The following passage in the *Pañchatantra* requires reconsideration:

न च त्वयावाप्तराज्योऽहमितिकृत्वा श्रीमदेनात्माव्यंसयितव्यः। यत्कारणम्। चला हि राज्ञां विभूतयः। कथम्--

(१) वंशारोहणवद्राज्यलक्ष्मीरारोप्यक्षणनिपाता।
(२) पारतरसवत् प्रयत्नशतैरपि दुर्वार्या।
(३) स्वाराधिताप्यन्ते विप्रलम्भिनी।
(४) वानरपतिरिवानेकचित्तचपला।
(५) पद्मपत्रोदकराजिरिव दुःसंश्लेषणीया।
(६) पवनगतिरिव चटुला।
(७) अनार्यसंगतिरिवास्थिरा।
(८) आशीविषजातिरिव दुरुपकार्या।
(९) संध्याभ्ररेखेव मुहूर्तरागा।
(१०) जलबुद्बुदपंक्तिरिव स्वभावभंगुरा।
(११) शरीरप्रकृतिरिव क्रियमाणकृतघ्ना।
(१२) स्वप्नलब्धद्रविणराशिरिव क्षणदृष्टनष्टा।[1]

This text is taken from (*a*) [see below], which is a faithful reprint of (*b*), with Edgerton's own preface. Edgerton himself supplied a translation of this text in (*c*), which we shall consider in each case. We also propose to consider the text as preserved in (*d*), (*e*) and (*f*) and discover how much superior is (*b*) to them. In (*e*) and (*f*) which represent the Vulgate text, there is complete anarchy both in the matter of text and meaning.

The theme had been a favourite subject with classical Sanskrit poets. The most celebrated diatribe against the fickleness of Lakshmī is found in the *Kādambarī* of Bāṇa.[2] In the recently discovered *Avantisundarī* of Daṇḍin, there is a lengthy passage on the same subject, and the title *Lakshmī-viḍambanam* has been derived from that source.[3]

The author of the *Pañchatantra* has boiled down in twelve short sentences the evils and undependable nature of Fortune.

I

(a), (b) वंशावरोहरणवद्‌राज्यलक्ष्मीरारोप्यक्षणनिपाता।

(c) "The Fortune of Kingship is apt to fall the moment she is mounted, as a bamboo seed that is climbed."

(d) वंशारोहकमिव राज्यलक्ष्मीरारोप्यक्षणनिपाता।

(e) वंशारोहणवद्राज्यलक्ष्मीर्दुरारोहा।

(f) वंशावरोहणवद्राज्यलक्ष्मीर्दुरारोहा। क्षणविनिपातरता

(this last portion is torn from here and tacked to the following).

Edgerton's rendering as in (*c*) only partly brings out the meaning, but misses the real significance. Why should the bamboo reed fall if it is sufficiently strong? Does *nipāta* refer to the bamboo reed or to Rājya-Lakshmī? The fact is that here is a reference to a particular custom of the lower castes as mentioned in the *Harshacharita*:

बहुमृतपटावगुंठनां रंजितरंगां जनंगमानामिव वंशबाह्यामनार्यां श्रियं त्यक्तुमभिलषति मे मनः।[4]

The Jaṅgamas or Chaṇḍālas have a custom of mounting the figure of Lakshmī on three bamboo sticks tied together (*vaṁśa-apāviddha-tridaṇḍaka*, *trivishṭabdhaka*) covering it with pieces of coloured cloth taken from coffin-shrouds which they collect, taking their goddess out in a procession with song and music to please their patrons, and then consigning it to a pool of water or river on the morning next to the *Daśaharā* day.

The meaning of *vaṁśarohaṇa* and *āropyakshaṇa-nipāta*, thus becomes clear. *Kshaṇa* means 'a festival', and also 'an instant', 'moment'. The figure of Lakshmī is taken down at the end of the festival, or shortly after its being mounted. *Vaṁśa-vāhyā* is the same as *vaṁśārohaṇa-vat* (=*vaṁśārohaṇa-vatī*), which is an epithet of Rājya-Lakshmī or more aptly of a-Lakshmi (*vaṁśarohaṇavad-rāji-alakshmīḥ*). So it is the Goddess of Fortune that is apt to fall down in no time and not the bamboo reed.

It should also be noted that each one of these sentences is capable of yielding meaning in a *double entendre*, or even in a treble one. Here the second meaning is that the Fortune of Kingship, which graces the ruler ascending the dynastic throne, is apt to fall during the very festival in which she embraces him. *Vaṁśa* also means the royal family, or the kingly scion assuming power at the time of the coronation.

Bearing in mind the above rendering, it is evident that the emended rendering in the *Tantrākhāyikā*, viz. *vaṁśārohakamiva* is faulty and obstructs the originally intended meaning. The reading *durārohā* of (*d*) is also an insipid substitution for *āropya-kshaṇa-nipāta* which is very significant. The Vulgate tradition in (*f*) not only suffers from the same defect in adopting *durārohā*, but is further vitiated in truncating the last portion (*kshaṇa-vinipāta-ratā* again a poor substitute for *āropya-kshaṇa-nipāta*) to join it with the following sentence where it is meaningless.

II

(a) पारतरसवत् प्रयत्नशतैरपि दुर्वार्या ।
(b) (पारतरसवत्) प्रयत्नैर् (प्रयत्नशतैर्) अपि दुर्वार्या ।
(d) पारतरसवत् प्रयत्नैरपि दुर्वार्या ।
(e) क्षणविनिपातरता प्रयत्नशतैर् अपि धार्यमाणा दुर्धरा ।
(f) क्षणविनिपातरता प्रयत्नशतैरपि धार्यमाणा दुर्धरा ।

Edgerton's rendering:

"(Like quicksilver) she is hard to hold even by (endless) effort."

This meaning is quite alright so far as it goes. According to Edgerton the 'parenthesis enclose matter of which I do not feel sure that the original contained even the equivalent in general sense'. Therefore *pārata-rasavat* placed within brackets in (*b*) is doubtful according to him. But it becomes an essential part of the original sentence if the test of *double entendre* is applied.

The imagery is taken from an elephant catch, in which wild beasts are so rounded up as to make them enter an enclosure called *vārī*[5] (*vārī tu gaja-bandhanī*, *Amara*), or restrained by a rope called *vārī* (see Monier Williams). The phrase *pārata-rasavat-prayatnaśatair* is to be split as *pārataras-avat-prayat-na śatair*, i.e. difficult to be caught in the enclosure, even by a large number of persons (*na-śatair-api*) endeavouring (*prayat*) and guarding (*avat*) with their strength (*taras*) to the fullest extent (*pāra*). Tremendous physical activity is very often seen in the catching of elephants.

Textually it is suggested that *durvāryā* was the best reading as in (*a*), (*b*), (*d*), which was not properly understood and changed to *dhāryamāṇā durdharā*, in which the depth of the original meaning was entirely missed. It also appears that *prayatna-śataih*, not *prayatnaih*, was the original reading.

III

(a) स्वाराधिताप्यन्ते विप्रलम्भिनी ।
(b) स्वाराधिताप्यन्ते विप्रलम्भिनी ।
(d) स्वाराधिताप्यन्ते विप्रलम्भिनी ।
(e) स्वाधिताप्यन्ते विप्रलम्भिनी ।
(f) प्रशस्ताराधिताप्यन्ते विप्रलम्भिनी ।

Edgerton's rendering: "However earnestly you pursue her favour, she betrays you in the end."

Godbole: "Deceiving (विप्रलम्भिनी) in the end although greatly propitiated (प्रशस्तभाराधिता प्रशस्ताराधिता)."

The second meaning is clear and interesting: However earnestly you coax her to your side, she attaches herself to a fool (*avipra-lambhinī*, the *akāra* being elided in *saṁdhi*) or, we take *vipra-lambhinī* to refer to Lakshmī as being the daughter of sage *Bhṛigu*[6]. The first part is to be split as *sva*+*ārā-ādhi*+*tāpī*, i.e. afflirting the heart with the painful shearing of a saw.

IV

(a) वानरपतिरिवानेकचित्तचपला ।
(b) वानररपतिरिवानेकचित्तचपला ।
(d) वानरपतिरिवानेकचित्तचपला ।
(e) वानरजातिरिवानेकचित्ता ।
(f) वानरजातिरिवविद्रुतानेकचित्ता ।

Edgerton's rendering: "Like a prince of the apes, she is fickle in her changing humours".

Firstly, *vānara-pati* should not be translated as 'a prince of the apes' (*vānaraṇāṁ patiḥ yasyāḥ sā*, *Bahuvrīhi* compound). In the double entendre, *vā+anarpatir+iva*, she is so fickle as if the king does not exist for her; or, *anarapatiḥ*, means like a woman whose husband is imbecile (*a-nara*), not sexually strong, but a manikin.

The textual emendations by Pūrṇabhadra and in the Vulgate are not justified in the light of this meaning.

V

(a) पद्मपत्रोदकराजिरिव दुःसंश्लेषणीया।
(b) पद्मपत्रोदकराजिरिव दुःसंश्लेषणीया।
(d) पद्मपत्रोदकराजिरिव दुःसंश्लेषणीया।
(e) पद्मपत्रोदकमिवाघटितसंश्लेषा।
(f) पद्मपत्रोदकमिवाघटितसंश्लेषा।

Edgerton's rendering: (*c*) "Like a streak of water on the petal of a water lily, there is no clinging to her." The second meaning is based on the art of decoration and its terminology as current in the Gupta period is as follows: *padma+patra+udak+arājir+iva*, i.e. like the lotus flowers and foliated scrolls, which rise upwards (*udañchatīti-udak*) in crooked or winding lines (*arājiḥ*, not a straight line). *Duḥ-saṁśleshaṇīyā* means 'hard to unravel in its interturning strands'. When drawing such fine scrolls, it is difficult to join correctly the rising lines which interminably coalesce, one with the other, in order to form more complex patterns as they ascend. This becomes clear if we look at one of the drawings of such scroll designs on the surface of the Dhāmekh stūpa at Sarnath.

Fine scroll work was a special feature of Gupta decorative designs. They are referred to as *patra-latā*, *patrāṅguli*, *patrāvalī*, etc., and mention is made of their endlessly winding tendrils (*atikuṭila-kanaka-patra-latā-pratāna-bhaṅgura*, *Kādambarī*), or zig-gag tracing of foliated patterns (*ābhaṅginī patrāṅguli*). Indeed it was then believed that the presence of such intricate designs on the walls of rooms served as a charm to ward off the evil eye, and thus they were painted on the walls of the bed chamber of Queen Vilāsavatī (*bhūti-likhita-patra-latā-kṛita-rakshā-parikshepa*). The feudatory chiefs (*sāmantas*) attending the royal *darbar* and arriving there before the king's presence was announced, busied themselves in the pastime of cutting foliated scrolls (*utkiratā patra-bhaṅgān*, *Kādambarī*, p. 68). The terms *padma-patra*, *udak*, *arāji* and *saṁślesha* throw welcome light on the technique of drawing these scroll designs.

Textually it is to be noted that the *Tantrākhyāyikā* version faithfully preserved the vocabulary of the original *Pañchatantra*, whereas Pūrṇabhadra, author of the *Pañchākhyāna* (A.D. 1199), undertook a deliberate large-scale tampering with the original, which attempt at simplifying actually worsened the literary merits of the basic text. The reading noted at (*e*) in this and other sentences shows this without mistake.

VI

(a) पवनगतिरिव चटुला।
(b) पवनगतिरिव चटुला।
(d) पवनगतिरिव चटुला।
(e) पवनगतिरिवातिचपला।
(f) पवनगतिरिवातिचपला।

Edgerton's rendering:

(*c*) "She is unsteady as the course of the wind". This is quite alright as the first meaning. In the *double entendre*, *pavana* is potter's kiln (*pavanaṁ kumbhakārasya pākasthāne*, *Medinī*); *gati* is 'course', 'result', 'fate' (*daśā*); and *chaṭula* means both 'unsteady' and 'liable to crack', from the root *chaṭ* to break or crack. The result or fate of the potter's kiln is always an incalculable factor, involving the possibility of loss by cracking or breakage. Such is also the course of Royal Fortune, unsteady and undependable for calculated results.

VII

(a) अनार्यसंगतिरिवास्थिरा।
(b) अनार्यसंगतिरिवास्थिरा।
(d) अनार्यसंगतिरिवास्थिरा।
(e) अनार्यसंगतमिवास्थिरा।
(f) अनार्यसंगतमिवास्थिरा।

Edgerton's rendering:

(*c*) 'undependable as alliance with the ignoble'. The other meaning is obtained by splitting the first phrase as *ana*+*ārya*, i.e. alliance with one who is not a king (*āryaḥ svāmivaiśyayoḥ*), or who is a slave; or *a-nārī-asaṅgati*, the two negatives neutralising each other and the phrase being equal to *nārī-saṅgati*, association of, or attachment to, women. Both are undependable.

VIII

(a) आशीविषजातिरिव दुरुपकार्या।
(b) आशीविष(जातिर्) इव दुरुपकार्या।
(d) आशीविषजातिरिव दुरुपकार्या।
(e) आशीविष इव दुरुपचारा।
(f) आशीविष इव दुरुपचारा।

Edgerton's rendering:

(*c*) "inaccessible to kindness as (the race of) vipers."

The original text points to the miracle of Sanskrit prose scintillating with words of double connotation. *Jāti* means 'race' as well as 'birth' (*janma*), and *upakāryā* means a 'royal house, palace' or a royal tent'.[7] The royal palace, in which a poisonous snake makes its appearance, becomes a condemned house (*dushṭā upakāryā durupakāryā*) unfit for the king's use.

Textually we find Pūrṇabhadra making a cheap substitution and missing completely the charm of the original. Edgerton in (*b*) places *jāti* in parenthesis, but the critique of double entendre points to it as an essential part of the original author's masterful style.

IX

(a) संध्याभ्ररेखेव मुहूर्तरागा।
(b) (संध्याभ्ररेखेव मुहूर्तरागा।)
(d) संध्याभ्ररेखेव मुहूर्तरागा।
(e) संध्याभ्रलेखेव मुहूर्तरागा।
(f) संध्याभ्रलेखेव मुहूर्तरागा।

Edgerton's rendering:

(*c*) "she glows but for a monent, as the streak of clouds at twilight".

This meaning is obvious where *rāga* signifies 'glow', 'redness'. But *rāga* also means 'affection', 'passion', which applies in the double entendre. There the crux is *abhra-rekhā*, in which *abhra* signifies 'sky' or 'cloud' (*abharani meghe cha gagane*, *Medinī*), *abhra-rekhā* is *vidyut-lekhā*, the streak of lightning in the sky. The imagery is taken from the courtesan's quarters (*veśa*), where *veśa-megha-vidyullatā*, or *taḍit*, or *vidyut* was a term signifying a young flaming beauty of great vivacity and charm.[8] Such a woman shows her *rāga* or offers her affection only for a short while.

Edgerton has put the whole sentence in parenthesis, introducing an element of doubt in its having formed part of the original text of the *Ur-Pañchatantra*. But in view of the very special meaning of the term *abhra-rekhā*, supported from literature of about the same epoch, it seems that the great artist and stylist, whose genius brought into existence the *Pañchatantra* had penned the sentence himself.

X

(a) जलबुद्बुदपंक्तिरिव स्वभावभंगुरा।
(b) जलबुद्बुदपंक्तिरिव स्वभावभंगुरा।
(d) जलबुद्बुदपंक्तिरिव स्वभावभंगुरा।
(e) जलबुद्बुदावलीव स्वभावभंगुरा।
(f) जलबुद्बुदावलीव स्वभावभंगुरा।

Edgerton's rendering:

(*c*) "She is perishable in her very nature, as a row of bubbles in the water."

The other meaning is highly technical and based on the vocabulary of the lapidary's art. In the cutting and polishing of gems, there is at first the rough unhewn piece which is of dull colour and therefore called *jaḍa* (a variant of *jala*, *ḍalayor-abhedāt*). The *jaḍa* after being cut and polished becomes *sva* which is a synonym of *dhana*, wealth or riches, i.e. *ratna* or *vasu*. But this conversion of an ordinary stone into a gem (*sva-bhāva*) is marred if the stone suffers from blemishes called *budbuda* (a spot, blister) or *paṅkti* (a streak, line, hair). According to *Vārahamihira*, *kakapada makshikā*, *keśa* and *budbuda* are the faults which reduce considerably the value of a diamond or render it almost worthless (*Bṛihatsaṁhitā*, 80, 15-16). Here *budbuda* is a bubble and *keśa* is the same as *paṅkti*.

Bāṇa inserts a similar statement in the *Kādambarī* in his description of *Lakshmī-viḍambanam*, referred to above:

गङ्गेव वसुजनन्यपि तरङ्गबुद्बुदचञ्चला (Vaidya,p. 105). Commentators have often not understood the *double entendre* of this sentence,[9] in which *vasu-janana* is the same as *sva-bhāva* (i.e. conversion of a rough stone into a gem) and *taraṅga* and *budbuda* are the defects revealed during the course of the cutting and polishing:

'Like Gaṅgā, Lakshmī is the mother of Vasu, i.e. the producer of riches in the form of polished gems, but undependable owing to the blemishes called *taraṅga* (a wavy streak) and *budbuda* (a bubble).'

Textually, Pūrṇabhadra's emendation of *paṅkti* into *avalī* leaves the sentence poorer in meaning.

XI

(a) शरीरप्रकृतिरिव क्रियमाणकृतघ्ना ।
(b) शरीरप्रकृतिरिव क्रियमाणकृतघ्ना ।
(d) शरीरप्रकृतिरिव क्रियमाणकृतघ्ना ।
(e) शरीरप्रकृतिरिव कृतघ्ना ।
(f) शरीरप्रकृतिरिव कृतघ्ना ।

Edgerton's rendering:
(*c*) "she shows no gratitude for what is done for her, as the nature of the body".

I wonder if the learned translator would be himself satisfied today with this translation. It leaves out the point of distinction between *kriyamāṇa* and *kṛita* and does not make clear the particular point of comparison between 'the nature of body' (*śarīra-prakṛiti*) and Rājya-Lakshmī. So even the first meaning was left obscure, let alone the second.

The fact is that *śarīra-prakṛiti* here is equivalent to 'death or 'physical dissolution' as stated by Kālidāsa:

मरणं प्रकृतिः शरीरिणां
विकृतिर्जीवनमुच्यते बुधैः। (*Raghu*. 8. 87.)

Death coming as the natural end of the material body, destroys all that has been done and is being done in life.

In the *double entendre*, *prakṛiti* means a *dhātu*, the radical or crude form of a word to which case terminations and other affixes are applied. The radical of *śarīra* is *śṝ* 'to kill' (शॄ हिंसायाम्), which, true to its inherent sense, is destructive of all that has been achieved (*kṛita*) and is being accomplished now (*kriyamāṇa*); that is, everything of the past and the present is subject to the overall process of dissolution and decay (*sīryate*, *śṛiṇāti va*). *Śarīra-prakṛiti* is virtually a euphemism for *hiṁsā* which destroys the present (*kriyamāṇa*) and past *kṛita* merits (*kṛita=sukṛita*).

Pūrṇabhadra appears to have deliberately worked on a *textus simplicior* and introduced numerous verbal changes in the original readings just to get rid of the difficult and inconvenient portions. Here also he thought *kriyamāṇa* to be superfluous and has clipped the sentence of it.

XII

(a) स्वप्नलब्धद्रविणराशिरिव क्षणदृष्टनष्टा।
(b) स्वप्नलब्धद्रविणराशिरिव (क्षण) दृष्टनष्टा।
(d) स्वप्नलब्धद्रविणराशिरिव दृष्टनष्टा।
(e) स्वप्नलब्धद्रव्यराशिरिव क्षणदृष्टनष्टा।
(f) स्वप्नलब्धद्रव्यराशिरिव क्षणदृष्टनष्टा।

Edgerton's rendering:
(*c*) "She vanishes the moment she is seen, as a mass of riches that one gets in a dream."

The imagery for the *double entendre* is taken from a she-elephant that is adorned with a mass of golden ornaments on some important occasion and as soon as the festival is over the ornaments are put away.

Here *svapna* is to be split as *su*+*apna*, where *apna*, a variant of *apnas*, denotes 'work', 'sacrificial act', 'rite', 'possession', 'property', 'form', 'shape' (Monier Williams and Apte). *Svapna* therefore signifies 'any important rite' or 'good form'. On the occasion of some special rite, like the king's coronation or the birth of a prince, or royal marriage, etc., the royal she-elephant (called *śrī-kareṇu*, *rāja-vallabha-kareṇu*) was profusely decorated with gold and silver ornaments (*draviṇaraśi*) which were exposed to public view only for the time of the celebration (*Kshaṇa-dṛishṭa*) and then put away.

Kareṇu is a female elephant[10] and the royal she-elephant was called *śri-kareṇu*, a very apt subject for comparison with goddess *Śri*. *Svapna* also means 'beautiful form', and the *Bahuvrīhi* compound would signify (a female elephant), who for the sake of making her body look beautiful has been endowed with a heap of riches in the form of gold and silver ornaments. *Dravya* is a poor substitute by Pūrṇabhadra for *draviṇa* of the original, which meant both *vitta* (money) and *kāñchana* (gold), whereas *dravya* means only *vitta*[11].

It is also evident that *Kshaṇa* (festival, celebration) was an essential word in the original and need not be relegated to a parenthesis.

References

1. (a) *The Pañchatantra I—V*, the text in its oldest form edited by Franklin Edgerton, Poona Oriental Book Agency, 1930; pp. 99.

(b) *The Pañchatantra Reconstructed* by Franklin Edgerton, Vol. I, Text and Critical Apparatus; American Oriental Series, 1924; pp. 367-68.

(c) *The Pañchatantra Reconstructed*, by Franklin Edgerton Vol. II, Introduction and Translation; American Oriental Series, 1924; pp. 391.

(d) *The Pañchatantra-Tantrākhyāyika*, by Johannes Hertel, Harvard Oriental Series, Vol. 14, 1915.

(e) *Purṇabhadra's Pañchatantra* (*Pañchākhyānaka*, dated, A.D. 1199), Johannes Hertel; Harvard Oriental Series, 1908, pp. 226-227.

(f) *Pañchatantra of Viṣṇuśarman* with explanatory English notes by Narayana Balakrishna Godbole, edited by Kashinath Pandurang Paráb, Nirnaya Sagara Press, Bombay, 1902; p. 182, notes pp. 298-99.

2. *Kādambarī* by Bāṇabhatta, edited by P. L. Vaidya; Poona Oriental Book Agency, 1935; pp. 104.

3. आचार्यदण्डिविरचिता अवन्तिसुन्दरी। अनन्तशयनसंस्कृतग्रन्थावलिः; ग्रन्थांक १७२; १९५४। पृ० ४४–४८।

4. P. V. Kane, *Harshacharita of* Bāṇabhatta, 1st Ed. 1918, *Uchchhvisa* vi, p. 39 notes, p. 125, where the passage is misunderstood. For the correct rendering see V. S. Agrawala, *Harshacharita, A Cultural Commentary* (हर्षचरित-एक सांस्कृतिक अध्ययन), Behar Rashtrabhasha Parishad, Patna, 1953, p. 117.

5. Both forms *vāri* and *vārī* are found. In the *Mānasollāsa* or *Abhilashi-*

tārthchintamaṇi of Someśvara (Mysore Sanskrit Series No. 69, Pt. I, p. 51) a graphic description of *vāribandha* method of catching elephants is given.

6. देवौ धातृविधातारौ भृगोः ख्यातिरसूयत।
श्रियं च देवदेवस्य पत्नी नारायणस्य या।

Vishṇu Purāṇa, I, 8. 15.

एतत्ते कथितं ब्रह्मन् यन्मां त्वं परिपृच्छसि।
क्षीराब्धौ श्रीर्यथा जाता पूर्वं भृगुसुता सती॥

Ibid. I, 9, 148. Also *Padma Purāṇa*, Srishati khaṇḍa, 4. 1; 17. 108.

7. उपकार्या—a royal house, palace, *Raghuvaṁṣa*, 5. 63, रम्यां रघुप्रतिनिधिः स नवोपकार्यां बाल्यात् परामिव दशां मदनोऽध्युवास; a royal tent or pavilion, *Raghu*, 5. 41, तस्योपकार्यारचितोपचारा। सौधो स्त्री राजसदनमुपकार्योपकारिका, इत्यमरः।

8. भवति वेशमेघविद्युल्लते पृच्छामस्तावत् *Padmaprābhritakam* Kavi's edition p. 22; जलधरनीलालेपः तडित्समालभनविह्वलद्गात्रः: . . . विटः *Dhūrtaviṭasamvāda*, p. 1, प्रासादमेघेषु रथ्यावलोकनकुतूहलाः शोभन्ते प्रमदाविद्युतः कैलासपर्वतान्तर्गता इवाप्सरसः, *Ubhayābhisārikā*, p. 3. The same term is used by Bāṇa: तडिदपि जलदे स्थिरतां व्रजति, *Kādambarī*, P .L. Vaidya's edition, p. 57.

9. This and many other technical allusions of Bāṇa in the *Kādambarī* have been made clear in my commentary, *Kādambarī-Eka Sāṅskṛitika Adhyayana*, (*Kādambarī*-A Cultural Study), Chaukhamba Sanskrit Series, Banaras, 1957.

10. करेणु—an elephant in general, but specially a female elephant as ददौ रसात् पङ्कजरेणुगन्धि गजाय गण्डूषजलं करेणुः (*Kumārasambhava*, 3, 37)

11. द्रविणं न द्वयोर्वित्ते काञ्चने च पराक्रमे। द्रव्यन्तु पित्तले वित्तेः (मेदिनी)

MUSLIM ARCHITECTURE IN GUJARAT

S. K. SARASWATI

AMONG the different provincial forms of Indo-Muslim achitecture that of Gujarat is admittedly the most remarkable. This is particularly so as no other architectural style tells the tale of the fusion of Hindu and Muslim building traditions with such unmistakable distinctness as that which was developed under the aegis of the Muslim Sultans of Gujarat. Though the Muslim arms had been threatening Gujarat since a long time past, it was only about the close of the thirteenth century A.D. that the territory was conquered for Islam by Sultan Alauddin Khalji and annexed to the Delhi empire. For about a century the Governors of Gujarat continued to acknowledge the suzerainty of Delhi. In A.D. 1391 Muhammad Shah, son of Firuz Shah Tughluq, appointed Zafar Khan, son of a converted Rajput, as the governor of Gujarat, replacing the previous governor who had disobeyed the authority of Delhi. In A.D. 1396, on the eve of Timur's invasion, he assumed independence with the title of Muzaffar Shah. From this date till A.D. 1572, when Akbar conquered it, Gujarat remained an independent kingdom, and many of its Sultans sought to display their wealth and power in the magnificence of their buildings.

It was certainly a fortunate coincidence that Gujarat came in contact with the Muslim building tradition when that tradition had attained its brilliant expression at Delhi under Sultan Alauddin Khalji. The spirit of Khalji architecture with its sense for symmetry and proportion and its almost flawless taste for ornamentation was a heritage of which one should feel justly proud. Equally fortunate is the fact that in this territory the traditions of a pre-existing indigenous school were still strong and vigorous. The singularly beautiful form of architecture, usually designated as the 'style of Western India', may be seen at its best over a large area centering around Gujarat. Modhera and Anahilapattana, Somnath and Dilwara, with their rich and magnificent monuments, recall to our mind an architectural style of great vitality and decorative beauty. Characterised by a breadth and spaciousness, so unusual in pre-Muslim days, and with its chaste and graceful elegance, this style had all the necessary elements to satisfy Muslim taste. Further, the innate skill of the Gujarati artists and craftsmen in the manipulation of the purely decorative brought their style very close to Muslim ideals of good architecture. In no other country or territory could the circumstances be more favourable for a happy blending of two alien architectural traditions. These fortunate conditions led to the growth and development of a distinct and individual style under the fostering care and zeal of the Muslim Sultans who ruled over Gujarat as independent potentates for nearly two centuries.

The foundations of the new style may be said to have been laid already in the fourteenth century when Gujarat had not yet broken away from its allegiance to Delhi. In the earliest period of occupation the Muslim governors, as elsewhere, had perforce to use native materials along with native builders and craftsmen and some form of structural conversion may actually be noticed in the Tomb of Shaikh Farid[1] and the Adina or *Jami Masjid*,[2] both at Patan (Anahilapattana). These two represent, more or less, improvised compositions out of materials spoilated from earlier Hindu and Jaina temples. The *Jami Masjid* at Broach[3] though improvised in a similar manner, was assembled according to the typical mosque plan with a quadrangular court having three entrances on the three sides and the sancturary at the western end. Moreover, an improvement of the design is recognised in the care with which older materials have been adjusted for fitting them in the conventional mosque design. There is, however, very little attempt to impose any Muslim idea on the new building, except the minimum necessitated by Islamic conventions. This is particularly noticeable in the open-pillared facade of the sanctuary. The arched facade, which is almost a ritualistic convention with Islamic religious buildings, is found to be absent, not only in this early improvisation but in many of the later mosques belonging to the phase of original construction.

The *Jami Masjid* at Cambay,[4] erected in A.D. 1325, may be regarded as a typical building of the early phase of Gujarat Muslim architecture. It has all the appurtenances that Islam demands—cloisters, open courtyard, the entrance porches, the covered place for prayer in the western cloister with the *mihrab* and the *mimbar*—, but only the west end is in any sense Islamic. The pillars of the cloisters are, no doubt, relics from sacked Hindu and Jaina shrines. In the entrance porches, which also seem to have come principally from older temples, there are many things that may fairly be described as literal copies of Hindu work as distinctive units in the established plan of a Muslim mosque. The exact parallels of these porches may be seen in the *maṇḍapas* of Hindu and Jaina shrines, still standing, for instance, at Modhera and Mount Abu. The Cambay mosque is important further as here, along with evidences of spoilation of earlier buildings, a stage of synthesis between the two building traditions is clear and manifest. The sanctuary at the western end, instead of being open-pillared, like the *masjid* at Broach, has an arched facade in the manner of conventional mosques. Moreover, the alternately narrow and broad courses of masonry proclaim also a familiarity with the Islamic building tradition at Delhi, and the prominent central arch has a distant Persian affiliation. The arches, however, are constructed on the Hindu trabeate principle and the engrailed arch between the two front pillars of the central bay is distinctly of temple extraction. This last element, it should be emphasised, is to figure prominently in the shape of a graceful flying arch within the central openings of the facades of the mosques of the subsequent phases. With its elegant proportions and dignified form the Cambay *masjid* is the first example of an intelligible mosque design in Gujarat and may be said to have set the standard for the subsequent monuments to follow. It is eloquent as regards the beginnings of a fruitful contact between two potent architectural traditions that ultimately led to the growth and development of a new and distinctive style.

The mosque of Hilal (or Buhlul) Khan Qazi at Dholka,[5] erected slightly later (A.D. 1333), partakes also of the same character as the Cambay mosque. It is, however of smaller dimensions, but two ornamental turrets, one on either side of the central archway of the sanctuary facade, add a notable innovation and complete the typical mosque design of Gujarat. Indigenous in design as well as in workmanship, these turrets anticipate, in a way, the tall slender minarets of later Gujarat mosques. It is to be observed that the Gujarat architects, possibly because of their unfamiliarity with the ideas and intentions of the minarets, have never been successful in the manipulation of this important element of the mosque design. The Tanka *Masjid*,[6] also at Dholka and built about A.D. 1361, is generally of the same order as the preceding, but being of the open-pillared variety bears a predominantly Hindu appearance.

With Ahmad Shah I, grandson of Zafar Khan, began the great period of Gujarat Muslim architecture. This forceful personality ascended the throne in A.D. 1411 and commemorated this event by founding a new capital city, called Ahmadabad after him. He began beautifying his new city with magnificent and stately edifices. Inspired by his zeal his successors and nobles and officers of the court erected mosques, tombs and other structures. Thus was sponsored an unprecedented architectural activity and the innate skill of the Gujarati builders found a superb expression under intelligent patronage, and Ahmadabad, to quote Firishta was turned into the handsomest city in Hindustan and perhaps in the whole world.

A few mosques at Ahmadabad, undertaken during the early part of Ahmad Shah's reign, may be said to have prepared the way for the grand *Jami Masjid* described by Fergusson[7] as "one of the most beautiful mosques in the East". Ahmad Shah's mosque[8] within the citadel seems to have been the earliest in this series. It was modelled on the *Jami Masjid* of Cambay, but with indications of a slight advance in the treatment of the buttresses on two sides of the central archway. The mosque of Haibat Khan[9] belongs to the same type, but the prominent bastions on the exterior of the back wall of the sanctuary reproduce a distinctive feature of the Firuzian style at Delhi. The mosque of Sayyid Alam,[10] said to have been built in A.D. 1412, contains several instructive elements, including the provision of an intermediate storey in the shape of a triforium, all of which anticipate distinctive features of the style that is to reach its full expression in the grand *Jami Masjid.*

The far-famed *Jami* mosque at Ahmadabad,[11] erected in A.D. 1423 is justly regarded as the touchstone of the Gujarat Muslim style. It occupies a quadrangle, 382 feet by 258 feet, externally which is disposed in the usual fashion of four cloisters on four sides of the open courtyard. It is in the western cloister, i.e. the sanctuary proper, that the most instructive and distinctive features are found. This consists of an immense hypostyle hall, 210 feet by 95 feet internally, with 260 tall pillars closely and carefully spaced to form a series of square bays. The number of such bays is fifteen each being covered by a dome. The central portion of the nave rises in the form of a tall shaft—a rotunda except for its square and octagonal shape respectively in the lower upper stages—literally in three storeys, and the area around the shaft in the upper section is disposed in two balustraded galleries, one above the other, with richly carved traceries around. The aisle on either side of the nave is similarly disposed, except that being planned with a lesser height it has only one upper gallery. The extreme wings are each one storeyed except for the hanging gallery for the zenana at the northern end. Apart from the richly carved galleries, the latter in the form of clerestoreys deflecting and reflecting light in the interior, much of the elegant effect of the interior has been obtained by the differing heights of the successive compartments.

This scheme of division and diversification is likewise repeated in the facade which not only has a pyramidal effect leading step by step from the two ends to the central nave, but exhibits also variegated articulation in the arched and colonnaded schemes harmoniously combined. The former, occupying the middle, has a large central archway forming the entrance to the nave, flanked on two sides by two smaller ones leading to the two aisles. The central archway springs from two richly moulded buttresses which once supported minarets that have now collapsed. The arches of this middle division are elegantly spaced and balanced and have the most graceful outlines, and contrasted to this scheme is that of the two wings at the extreme ends formed of pillars with arch-shaped brackets and shaded at the top by sloping eaves. Percy Brown[12] rightly notices in the entire scheme "a subtle contrast between the volume and strength of the wall surface and airy lightness of the colonnade" and declares the facade to be superb as a composition of solids and voids.

Much of the composition of this magnificent structure was certainly the handiwork of indigenous craftsmen and derived from the Western Indian temple style. Some scholars find in the stepped pyramidal composition an echo of the pyramidal lines of the Indian temple. While there may be divergences of opinion on this point, there can be no doubt that the form of the pillars, of the buttresses flanking the central archway, and the decorative detail as a whole are Indian. The domes too are built up in the indigenous trabeate system. The extreme wings reproduce further the indigenous principle. These features exert a permanent influence on the Gujarat Muslim style and all are repeated in the subsequent buildings, "though seldom with better effect than here".[13]

The *Jami Masjid* at Ahmadabad, according to Percy Brown,[14] ranks as "the high watermark of the mosque design in Western India, if not in the entire country". In this monument the Gujarat Muslim architecture reaches a rational development by assimilating intellectually the lessons derived from the buildings of the earlier phase of experiments. The phenomenal advance achieved in this superb creation owes, no doubt, a good deal to the appreciative patron who seems to have been a genius gifted with a fine and elegant taste and a lofty vision as well. To emphasise, again, the most eminent featues of the monument bear recapituation. The interior with its diversified sections and its array of graceful pillars is splendid, and, further, with its richly carved galleries, its rich and intricate traceries and arabesques the effect is chaste and at the same time elegant. The admirable composition of the facade, broken up and diversified with all its parts well-proportioned, its shapely and expansive arches, its engaged buttresses, richly moulded, its carved mouldings, string-courses and battlements, all combine to make it one of the noblest architectural compositions in the whole world. It is interesting in this connection to refer to Fergusson's[15] comparison between the *Jami Masjid* at Ahmadabad and the great temple at Ranpur, some 160 miles away which was being built at about the same time by Rana Kumbha of Mewar. Fergusson's observation that both the monuments belong to the same school of architectural design is clear and unequivocal. He feels, however that there is more poetry in the temple, but concludes that "there is a sobreity about the plan of the mosque which, after all, may be in better taste".

The *Tin Darwaza*[16] or 'Triple Gateway', forming the main entrance to the outer enclosure of the royal citadel, belongs apparently to Ahmad Shah's reign and is a production of rare architectural dignity. It consists of three archways of equal height, the central one, however, being of wider dimensions than the other two. The arches are bold in conception and graceful in outline and are delicately set off against richly carved buttresses projecting from the front of each pier. Another notable feature may be recognised in the relief given to the parapet on each side by three elegant oriel windows supported on brackets.

Muslim architecture in Gujarat may be said to have reached its characteristic expression in the reign of Ahmad Shah and during the next two reigns the quality of the style was maintained unimpaired. His successor, Muhammad Shah, is also known to have been a builder of note. He completed the tomb of Ahmad Shah[17] in an enclosure, to the east of the great *Jami Masjid*, specially marked out by that great ruler. Further east the *Rani-ka-Hujra*[18] or the tomb enclosure for the royal ladies was also apparently completed during his reign. The tomb of Ahmad Shah is a square building with a portico projecting from the middle of each side, the southern one forming the entrance. Within each corner between the projections is a small square chamber covered by a dome. Between the chambers are pillared aisles enclosing the tomb chamber which is covered by a large single dome. The aisles are closed from without by perforated stone screens. Though not of very great architectural merit, particularly in its present environments, the tomb is nevertheless important as it introduced a funerary type which came to the popular in this part of the country. The *Rani-ka-Hujra* consists of a square open court enclosed by an arched screen with columned cliosters both inside and out. On a platform within the court are arranged richly carved and lavishly inlaid cenotaphs which in their refined grace and elegance may be said to have been fitting memorials to the pretty damsels of the royal harem.

At Sarkhej, some six miles to the south-west of Ahmadabad, Muhammad Shah built the tomb and mosque of Shaikh Ahmad Khattri,[19] a famous Muslim saint who died in A.D. 1446. These two initiated a building activity at this place which was later on to develop into an architectural complex of no mean artistic significance. The tomb of the Shaikh consists of a square chamber in the centre with a series of four aisles, separated one from the other by slender pillars, on each face. The central chamber is covered by a large single dome and the aisles by smaller domes over the bays formed by the arrangement of the pillars in the aisles. On the outside the aisles are closed by stone lattices, while panels of brass "fretted and chased and tooled into an infinite variety of patterns"[20] separate the tomb chmaber from the aisles. The entire composition occupies a square of 104 feet side and is the largest of its kind in Gujarat. The mosque, as a whole, partakes of the usual design, but the sanctuary is of the open-pillared variety and is of the same height throughout. The absence of the formal arched facade and of the minars may detract, to a certain extent, from its sacredotal character. As an architectural composition, however, it is of considerable interest on account of its chaste simplicity and classic restraint.

The brief reign of Qutbuddin, the next ruler, is not also a blank in respect of building activities. He is the author of the Hauz-i-Qutb tank at Kankariya[21] in the vicinity of Ahmadabad and the builder of a mosque at Ahmadabad, called Qutbuddin mosque[22] after him. Though neither is of great architectural merit, the first at least is an expression of the pleasure-loving tendency of the ruler. He is also reputed to have built a mosque and a tomb at Rajapur in memory of Sayyid Buddha bin Yaqut.[23] These two, combined to form a *rauza*, were designed on a considerable scale, but failed to be a convincing production. In the mosque certain innovations are noticed in the arched formation of the wings in place of the customary open pillars. But the central bay with its heavy minarets seems to be too overpowering and out of all proportion to the rest of the fecade. But if the buildings associated with the name of the ruler failed to be inspiring, two monuments, one at Ahmadabad and the other at Dholka, erected during this period by his officials seem to suggest new trends. The tomb of Darya Khan at Ahmadabad,[24] bearing the date A.D. 1453, and the mosque of Alif Khan at Dholka seem to have many things in common and are permeated by the same spirit, and Percy Brown[26] is inclined to believe that they were works of the same hand. Both these monuments were built of bricks, instead of stone, and naturally arches constitute the principal feature of the composition in each case. The Dholka[25] mosque is damaged to a very great extent, but the tomb of Darya Khan is in a fair state of preservation. It consists of a square tomb chamber surrounded by an arcaded corridor, the central chamber being covered by a large dome and the corridor by smaller ones, the domes in each case being supported on arched squinches. In the structural procedure some scholars hence notice an impact of the Persian architectural tradition. There can be no doubt that due to the limitations of the material used in these buildings the arch was used more as a structural expedient than as a conscious adoption of an Islamic principle. It is true that after this the arch is found to be increasingly employed in Gujarat. It cannot be denied, however, that the Gujarati builders were more at home with their own traditional trabeate system and more used to think in terms of pillar and lintel. It appears, therefore, that whenever they had to use the arch they accepted it rather grudgingly.

The next ruler, Mahmad Shah Begarha (A.D. 1459-1511) was himself a passionate builder, and it was during his reign that the Gujarat Muslim style reached its most sumptuous expression. His architectural undertakings were many and varied and distributed throuhgout his dominions. He founded three new cities and adorned each with many splendid edifices. Of these, the one at Champanir, some seventy-eight miles to the south-east of Ahmadabad, was designed to be the capital city and was planned and completed on a grand and lavish scale befitting its exalted position. Ahmadabad, the old capital and already a city of great architectural magnificence, also was not ignored, and received further embellishments in the shape of new and stately buildings. Again, at Sarkhej was raised a vast palace complex with gardens, pavilions, artificial lake, etc., besides other monuments on the same affluent scale. Of the various building projects the secular monuments have suffered a good deal, being damaged and disfigured by natural decay and human spoliation. It is only the buildings of the religious order, like mosques and tombs, that now remain and they furnish an ample idea of the sumptuous character of Begarha architecture.

It is needless to say that it is not possible within the scope of this article to refer even to all the important monuments of this grand and affluent phase, and perforce the discussion will have to be limited only to the most significant ones illustrating the definte phases of in the evolution of the style. The mosques, with very few exceptions, follow the pattern already established. In the tomb designs varieties may be noticed. A sumptuous wealth of decorative detail distinguishes every monument of this phase, whether a mosque or a tomb.

Among the surviving monuments of this phase many take the shape of what is usually known as a *rauza*, i.e. a tomb and mosque combined to form one conception. The mosque in such a scheme has usually no arched facade, but is of the open-pillared variety, as Percy Brown described the design in distinction to the one in which the sanctuary is closed by an arched screen in front. The latter is, as a rule, followed in individual and independent mosque designs. The open-pillared scheme has been characteristic of Gujarat mosques from a rather early period, and the persistence of the type has been interpreted as being due to the preference of the Gujarati builders for the indigenous trabeate system of construction. In such a scheme the minarets are always placed at the angles of the facade. In the mosque with the arched facade they always project from the centre, one on either side of the principal archway. In each case the interior is invariably a hypostyle; but whereas in the arched scheme the nave always rises higher than the rest of the building in the form of a clerestorey or clerestories, the open-pillared design the building is of uniform height throughout. Both these schemes seem to have been established as distinctive conventions in the earlier phase. In the Begarha period each is found to have reached its most affluent expression.

The tomb usually takes the form of a square mortuary chamber encircled by a number of aisles, sometimes with a projecting portico in front. The pattern is already known in the earlier phase. The tomb of Sayyid Usman (A.D.1460) at Usmanpur,[27] a suburb of Ahmadabad on the opposite side of the river Sabarmati, is one of the earliest monuments of this kind belonging to the Begarha period. It is to be noted that it forms part of a *rauza* and the mortuary chapel is situated behind it. It is a well-balanced production consisting of a square mortuary chamber inside a double aisle of pillars. This chamber is covered by a substantial dome resting on a dodecagonal base over twelve pillars skilfully arranged in the centre of the hall. This dome is surrounded by smaller domes over the outer aisle. The concentric arrangement of a number of aisles, one within the other, is already noticed in a hesitating form in earlier tomb compositions. The accommodation of the cenotaph chamber within a successive arrangement of aisles is intended possibly to give that seclusion and repose to the sepulchral chamber so indispensable in a mausoleum. In the tomb of Sayyid Usman this design is found to have reached a logical and rational expression. In its harmonious proportions, in the skilful disposition of its parts, and in its breadth and spaciousness, it has been considered to be one of the most successful sepulchral design carried out in the pillared style at Ahmadabad. Two other eminent productions of this mode may be seen in the tombs of Bibi Achut Kuki (A.D. 1472) at Ahmadabad[28] and of Mahmud Begarha (*c.* A.D. 1511) at Sarkhej.[29]

Fundamentally the above tomb design undergoes very little modification, except that the arch comes to be increasingly used in the composition as seen in a number of mausoleums in Gujarat. The tomb of Shah Alam (*c.* A.D. 1475) near Ahmadabad,[30] built on the same scheme as above, has an outer arcade filled in with perforated screens, and within this there is a colonnade encircling a square compartment, the latter enclosed again by traceries. This innermost traceried compartment forms the mortuary chamber which is covered by a dome. This concentric arrangement of a number of compartments, one within the other, and particularly the skilful and minute execution of the traceries lend the monument an almost casket-like appearance. The concentric arrangement, it has already been observed, has been characteristic of Gujarat tombs from the earlier phase in which though the pillared aisle is the usual rule, the arch is also known to have figured in the composition (Tomb of Shaikh Ahmad Khattri, Sarkhej; Tomb of Darya Khan, Ahmadabad). In the Begarha period the concentric arrangement is maintained and the arches are found to be increasingly applied in the composition of a sepulchral monument in a manner that leads to a different effect altogether. From this conscious adoption of the arcuate composition springs a new mode of tomb design. Among a number of tombs of arched composition two merit special attention. One is the tomb of Qutbu-l Alam (*c.* A.D. 1480) at Batwa,[31] some six miles to the south of Ahmadabad, and the other is that of Mubarak Sayyid (*c.* A.D. 1484) at Mahmudabad,[32] about seventeen miles to the south-south-east of that famous city. The former is a large square building with a portico projecting from its south. Of the usual concentric arrangement the exterior shows a double arcade encircling inside two aisles, again of arcaded formation. The inner aisle encloses the cenotaph chamber which rises in two storeys, the upper being surmounted by a fair-sized dome. In the conscious and consistent acceptance of the arcuate composition and in its convincing application, this tomb represents no small an advance on the earlier design. Still, there are indications of a certain vacillation, usual in the initial stage of every new mode.

In the tomb of Mubarak Sayyid, however, all signs of hesitancy disappear leading to the creation of one of the most convincing monuments of this class. Though of slightly smaller dimensions, it is very much of the same design as the Qutbu-l Alam tomb, and Fergusson[33] suspects that both were designed by the same architect. Certain differences may, however, be noticed in the tomb of Mubarak Sayyid. Instead of being double-storeyed, like the Qutbu-l Alam tomb, it is single-storeyed, though the projection of the central compartment beyond the height of the surrounding aisles resutls, in effect, in a simulated upper storey which is surmounted by a substantial dome. The contour and poise of this central dome have parallels in the Lodi monuments in far-off Delhi, while the kiosks at its base, again representing a pleasing innovation, seem to have been derived from the same source. In view of the simplicity of its plan, the oragnic unity of its total design, the solidity and balance of its parts, and, above all, its constructional proprieties, Fergusson[34] describes it as one of the most beautiful of its class in India.

A brief description of a few of the important mosque conceptions seems also to be relevant to the scope of this paper. The mosque in the *rauza* of Sayyid Usman[35] is of the open-pillared scheme and is distinguished by all the characteristic features of such a scheme, as described above. It is perhaps the earliest of the mosques to be erected during the Begarha period, and though each element, such as the elegantly shaped pillars, the minarets at the corners rising up in six storeys, etc., is skilfully designed and executed, there is recognised a certain lack of organic unity in the composition as a whole for which it fails to be a convincing production. Another mosque of the open pillared scheme may be seen in the small, but exquisite, Rani Sipari mosque at Ahmadabad,[36] built in A.D. 1514 during the reign of Muzaffar Shah. Except the minarets at the two ends of the pillared frontage it has hardly anything Islamic about it, the design of all other important detail being in the indigenous Indian tradition. In a way such a monument proves Fergusson's[37] dictum regarding the Gujarat Muslim style that "as the style progressed it became more and more Indian". Remarkable for its chasteness and elegance, its goldsmith-like delicacy and almost ivory finish the Rani Sipari mosque ranks as one of the finest monuments of the Gujarat Muslim style, described by Fergusson as "the most exquisite gem at Ahmadabad". Marshall also supports this estimate of Fergusson. "East and West", says Marshall,[38] "it would be difficult to single out a building in which the parts are so harmoniously blended or in which balance, symmetry and decorative rhythm combine to produce a more perfect effect. The mosque is a small one—only 48 feet by 19½ feet—but this very smallness is an asset in its favour, since the delicate traceries and jewel-like carvings, suggestive as they are of an almost feminine grace, show to less advantage in bigger and more virile structures." One other mosque of this type, but not so ornate in expression, may be seen in the mosque of Shah Khub Sayyid (A.D. 1538) at Ahmadabad.[39] It is perhaps the latest example in this series.

The type of mosque with an arched screen in front of the sanctuary is evidently modelled on the grand *Jami Masjid* at Ahmadabad, with however this notable innovation that the combined arched and pillared frontage, as seen in the archetype, disappears and gives place to a continuous arched facade along the entire front. The mosque of Miyan Khan Chisti at Ahmadabad,[40] built about A.D. 1456, is chronologically prior to what is literally called the phase of Mahmud Shah Begarha who came to the throne in A.D. 1459. In design and dimensions, however, it is an exact analogue of the mosque of Bibi Achut Kuki, also at Ahmadabad[41] and built in A.D.1472. The two together may be regarded as representing the style of the early Begarha period. The sanctuary in each has a three-arched screen with a richly sculptured minaret shooting high up on either side of the central archway. The interior, as usual, is a hypostyle divided into three compartments, each of which is surmounted by a dome. The compartment forming the nave is raised higher to form a clerestorey over which is placed the central dome. In the entire design there is a clarity which, in each instance, enhances greatly the effect of the building. The tendency to increased richness, a characteristic of Begarha architecture, is seen not only in the finer and more varied carvings on the buttresses of the minarets, but also in the attractive motif of the oriel windows projected from the exterior walls, each filled in with a tracery of exquisite design and fineness.

This motif of the oriel window supported on brackets and shaded by a wide eave, and taking the shape, more or less, of a shallow balcony, is distinctly an adaptation of the earlier indigenous pattern, probably of secular origin. This motif, though occasionally used in the monuments of the earlier phase, now comes to be applied as a regular ornamental feature and with increased effect, and adds to the modulation and relief of the walls.

The type seems to have set the pattern for the age and is found to be repeated, with hardly any variation in the design till the absorption of the kingdom of Gujarat in the empire of Akbar. With the progress of the building activity there is recognised an increased enrichment by superb and the most delicate carvings. The mosque of Muhafiz Khan[42] (A.D. 1492), Bai Harir's mosque[43] (*c.* A.D. 1500) and the Queen's mosque,[44] also known as Rani Rupavati's mosque (*c.* A.D. 1515), all at Ahmadabad, represent some of the ornate expressions of the prevailing style. Among these, the first is considered by competent critics to be a pre-eminent production on account of its exquisitely refined details executed in the most elegant and flawless taste. The Gujarati builders seem to have been perfect masters in the art of minute carving, and this art is found to be in its apogee in the magnificent tracery work of the Sidi Sayyid mosque[45] at Ahmadabad belonging to the first quarter of the sixteenth century A.D. The mosque is rather a simple and unassuming building and illustrates a distinct departure from the usual mosque design of Gujarat. A definite innovation, and an unusual one in the context of Gujarat, is furnished by an entirely arcaded interior of the sanctuary hall. But the fame and reputation of the mosque rest not so much on the originality or unconventionality of its design as on its superb window screens which fill in the tympanums of the arches. There are ten such screens—three in each of the two-side walls and four in the rear wall of the sanctuary. Of these, the screens at the sides and the two in the two extreme bays of the back wall are each cut up into small square panels which are filled in with foliate and geometric forms of a varying designs. Gujarat has long been familiar with such pattern of the tracery, and the skill in handling such a tracery and executing it on hard stone has been admirable enough. The two screens on either side of the central *mihrab* of the Sidi Sayyid mosque, however, surpasses all such works. The pattern in each consists of 'free plant and foliage designs', intertwining with one another and evenly spread over the entire surface. "What makes these windows supremely beautiful", writes Marshall,[46] "is the unerring sense of rhythm with which the artist has filled in his spaces and the skill with which he has brought the natural forms of the trees into harmony with their natural setting." It is only an Indian genius with an extraordinary fertility of imagination that could revel in such a bewildering wealth of patterns, and only an Indian artist, gifted with an infinite technical skill arising out of a long heritage and tradition, who could carve it to such perfection. These traceries unmistakably prove that the tradition of the artists of the Dilwara temples is not yet extinct.

In A.D. 1484 Mahmud Shah Begarha captured Champanir from a Hindu chief. He conceived such a liking for the place that immediately he began building a new capital city there. The scheme was an ambitious one and it is stated that it took twenty-three years to be completed. Planned in the characteristic fashion of an Indian city, Champanir consisted of a walled fortress with the palace as the focal point of the scheme. Round the fortress spread the outer city which in its days of greatness extended to Halol. Of the outer city very little now remains. The secular buildings within the fortress have also mostly perished. The massive walls of the fortress with their projecting bastions and fine and imposing gateways, together with one or two secular buildings, may now be found to be in a certain state of preservation and may furnish an idea of the vast and ambitious nature of the scheme. The surviving monuments are, in most instances, the mosques and the tombs which, because of their religious character, might have escaped spoliation. Among these, the most imposing is certainly the grand *Jami Masjid*[47] which was completed in A.D. 1508. Modelled on its earlier namesake at Ahmadabad it is designed on much the same scheme, though some variations in certain details may be recognised; for example, in the disposition of the facade and that of the roof. The facade consists of five archways, each of a pointed shape, the central one inside the bases of the minarets being larger in dimensions. The roof of the nave rises much higher than those of the compartments on either side which are of equal height throughout. The arrangement of the domes is also different. In the exterior as well as in the interior the Champanir mosque exhibits a much richer effect. The stately entrance gateways, leading to the mosque enclosure, with their varied and sumptuous carvings add to the dignity and beauty of the scheme. The richer treatment of the enclosing walls and particularly of those of the sanctuary with richly moulded buttresses and oriel windows effectively relieves the monotony of the walls and betokens the affluent state of Begarha architecture. The tall nave of the sanctuary rising up in three successive tiers with the sumptuous treatment of the clerestorey galleries and of the soffit of the central dome posed high provides the interior with an impressive dignity.

Fergusson[48] has described the *Jami Masjid* at Champanir as "architecturally the finest in Gujarat". It is, no doubt, a striking edifice, but Fergusson's estimate may not be unanimously accepted. However rich and accomplished its single parts and details might be, it falls short of the *Jami Masjid* of Ahmadabad in respect of organic unity. As Marshall[49] observes: "Its parts are neither so well proportioned nor so successfully co-ordinated. The elevation of the prayer chamber is too cramped; the minarets flanking the main archway overpoweringly heavy; and the transition from the side wings to the central hall altogether too abrupt." What is this lack of organic design due to? Marshall attributed it to an exhaustion, about this period, of the faculty for composition on a grand scale which distinguished the architecture of Ahmad Shah. There may be some truth in such an explanation. But other forces might also have been at work. The increasing use of the arch and the dome is found to be a characteristic feature of Begarha architecture. This may also indicate, perhaps, an increasing imposition Islamic conventions in the building of the Champanir mosque. The Gujarati artists, who were no doubt responsible for the production of the monument, do not seem to have been much at home with these structural methods as with their own traditional pillar and lintel system. It may appear, hence, that the imposition of these not too familiar ideas might have something to do with such drawbacks as a rather incoherent design and want of co-ordination in the otherwise splendid *Jami Masjid* at Champanir.

The proneness of the Gujarati architects to adapt themselves to new techniques and new ideas is also illustrated in the minarets which never came to be fused into the mosque scheme as a happy and harmonious element. The Gujarati builders tried to manipulate them in different ways, but with very little success. In the arched type of mosque they were placed on either side of the central archway, while in the open-pillared type they were relegated to the extreme corners of the facade. But whatever their position, they looked much too overpowering and heavy, particularly because of the prominent emphasis in the facade on the horizontal effect, thereby impairing the symmetry of the entire design. Even in the *Jami Masjid* at Champanir which, in spite of the defects of composition mentioned above, is regarded as one of the splendid monuments of the Begarha period, the minarets look much too incongruous with the rest of the design. The disappearance of these features from the *Jami Masjid* or Rani Rupavati's mosque at Ahmadabad may be regarded, hence, more as architectural gains leading to superbly balanced and organic effect of the facade design. Some improvement was sought to be effected by reducing the height of the minarets and increasing that of the prayer chamber, as we find in the mosque of Muhafiz Khan at Ahmadabad, or by transforming them into more ornamental and symbolic appendages of much reduced girth as we find in the Rani Sipari mosque and in that of Shah Khub Sayyid, both at Ahmadabad. Certain improvements result, no doubt, from such manipulations; yet the minarets fail to be sucessfully integrated into the scheme. It is not without reason that in a few of the later mosques the minarets were eliminated altogether from the design.

A close examination of the bases supporting the minarets is also instructive in as much as they are found to be derived from the earlier indigenous tradition. They project as prominent buttresses from the facade and correspond to the lower sections of the Hindu temple with all their characteristic mouldings along with vertical facets and rich decorative designs. They introduce an intricate play of light and shade in the otherwise flat facade. Every form and every detail may be found at Siddhapur or Patan, Modhera or Mount Abu, Chandravati or Somnath. The only variation is noticed in one particular. Whereas in the corresponding sections of the temple appear niches with figure sculptures, in the mosque they are filled in with tracery. And not a few of the tracery motifs are clearly of Hindu extraction.

Another important manifestation of the Gujarat Muslim style may be seen in the step-wells, known as the '*wavs*'. In the pre-Muslim period the practice of making these wells had been prevalent. In the Muslim phase such wells were modelled on much the same lines. A pre-existing tradition was taken over and considerably developed by the Muslim rulers. These wells consist each of a circular or octagonal well-shaft and an inclined stairway which descends down to the level of the water by means of flights of steps with regular landings in between. The landings are constituted as pillared galleries superbly designed and provided with such ornamental features as hanging balconies, etc. As cool and quiet retreats in the heat of the summer the galleries prove to be immensely effective. Two of the most eminent examples of such step-wells may be found in Bai Harir's *wav* at Asarwa,[50] near Ahmadabad, and in the one at Adalaj,[51] some twelve miles north of that city, both being built about the same time.

The circumstances under which the Muslim style of Gujarat developed have been broadly stated. In their building aspirations the Muslim Sultans of Gujarat were fortunate in coming in contact with the most accomplished school of artisans in the whole of India. They were not slow to recognise the merits of these artisans and take advantage of their skill. What is more, with a rare catholicity they abstained from imposing their own ideas, except the barest minimum demanded by the new conditions, but were content to adhere to the established traditions of the country. The genius of the Western Indian temple builders was thus easily directed to the creation of structures of an entirely disparate order in the form of mosques and tombs. And this they did with the same æsthetic and constructive sense as in the case of the temples. It appears that the builders were inspired by a desire to use the old tradition to create something new. The fact that the inventive genius of the Indian craftsman had a comparatively free scope accounts for much of the imaginative richness of Gujarat Muslim architecture. The style that emerged out of these circumstances was certainly of a very specialised order. Balance and harmony, elegance of design, richness of decoration and almost flawless execution are the keynotes of this style in which Indo-Muslim architecture may be seen at its best. It has been stressed often that of all the styles that emerged under Islamic rule in India that of Gujarat remains the most indigenously Indian. This unique character may best be explained as the product as much of a highly specialised local style as of a different kind of Islamic patronage.

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KARṆĀṬAS OUTSIDE KARṆĀṬA

D. C. SIRCAR

SOME of the earliest dynasties of Kannaḍa or Karṇāṭa origin that settled outside the Karṇāṭa or Karṇāṭaka country, i.e. the Kannaḍa-speaking region in the western part of South India, are the Eastern Gaṅgas of Kaliṅga, the Eastern Chālukyas of Veṅgī and probably also the Kadambas of Kaliṅga.[1] The Gaṅgas settled in Kaliṅga before the end of the 5th century A.D., the era used in their records having started from a date falling in the period 496-98 A.D. They were therefore the earliest known people of Karṇāṭaka settled outside their original home. Though the circumstances leading to the establishment of the Chālukyas in the Veṅgī region in the first half of the 7th century are quite well known, we do not know anything about the settlement of the Gaṅgas and Kadambas in the area about the Ganjam District.

The royal charters recording grants of land of the kings of some of the early medieval dynasties of Eastern and Northern India were usually addressed to their subordinates. In the list of such addressees, including feudatory rulers, officers and others, the Karṇāṭas figure along with a few other peoples in the charters of the Pālas of Bengal and Bihar. There is little doubt that the reference is to the mercenary soldiers in the armies of the kings in question. The Nalanda plate of Dharmapāla (*c.* 770-810 A.D.) is the earliest Pāla record that mentions such mercenaries;[2] but it mentions only the Gauḍas, Mālavas, Khaśas, Kulikas and Huṇas and not the Karṇāṭas.[3] Later Pāla epigraphs like the Monghyr plate of Devapāla (*c.* 810-54 A.D.), however, add the Karṇāṭas and Lāṭas to the above list.[4] The latest Pāla charters, e.g., the Manahali plate of Madanapāla (*c.* 1144-61 A.D.), further expand the list of mercenaries by adding the Choḍas to it. Thus the Karṇāṭa soldiers continuously served in the Pāla army for more than three centuries.

The fact that the Karṇāṭas do not figure in such lists of mercenaries in the charters of other areas[6] appear to suggest that the Karṇāṭa mercenaries preferred service in the Pāla army. One of the reasons for this preference may be the matrimonial relations of the Pāla dynasty with the family of the Rāshṭrakūṭas of Karṇātaka. It is well known that Raṇṇādevī, the queen of Dharmapāla himself, was the daughter of a Rāshṭrakuṭa chief named Parabala.[7] Similarly Bhāgyadevī, the daughter of a Rāshṭrakūṭa chief named Tuṅga, was the queen of king Rājyapāla (*c.* 911-35 A.D.), while one of the queens of king Vigrahapāla III (*c.* 1055-81 A.D.) was the sister of Rāshṭrakūṭa Mathana or Mahana who ruled over Aṅga or East Bihar as a viceroy of the Pālas.[8] Mathana's brother's son, *Mahāpratīhāra* Śivarāja, was a leader of the forces of Rāmapāla (*c.* 1084-1130 A.D.) in the latter's war with the Kaivarta king Bhīma of North Bengal.[9] Mathana's daughter Śaṅkaradevī[10] was married to the chief Devarakshita of the Chikkora family of Pīṭhī or Bodhgayā, while his sons, the *Mahāmāṇḍalikas* Kānhuradeva and Suvarṇadeva, along with their brother-in-law Devarakshita, fought on the side of Rāmapāla in the same war.[11]

These facts show that Rāshṭrakūṭas of Karṇāṭaka played an important part in the political life of Bengal and Bihar in the age of the Pālas. The rise of the Senas of Bengal and the establishment of a Karṇāṭa house in North Bihar in the 11th century A.D. has to be explained in this light. It is well known that, according to Bilhaṇa's *Vikramāṅkadevacharita*, during the latter part of the reign of the Chālukya Someśvara I (*c.* 1044-68 A.D.), his son Vikramāditya VI undertook expeditions in Eastern India, where he is said to have defeated the kings of Gauḍa and Kāmarūpa, and scholars have suggested that probably these raids brought into various parts of North-Eastern India bodies of his countrymen who soon afterwards succeeded in carving out principalities for themselves.[12] It should however be pointed out in this connection that, while the genuineness of Bilhaṇa's statement cannot be determined and may be suspected in the absence of corroborative evidence, we have definite proof of Karṇāṭa connections with East Indian politics from an earlier date, i.e. at least from the beginning of the 9th century when the Pāla king Dharmapāla ended his rule.

Vīrasena, the progenitor of the Sena family of Bengal, is described in the records of his descendants as one of the rulers of Dākshiṇātya, and a member of the family, named Sāmantasena (*c.* 1050-75 A.D.), is stated to have been the ornament of a community (called Brahma-Kshatriya or Karṇāṭa-Kshatriya), the members of which were defenders of the Karṇāṭa country.[13] The statment of an inscription[14] of Ballālasena that his great-grandfather Sāmantasena was born in the family of *Rājaputras* of the lunar race, who were ornaments of the Rāḍhā country (South-West Bengal), suggests that the Senas settled in Bengal sometime before the middle of the 11th century. Sāmanta and his son Hemantasena (*c.* 1075-97 A.D.) were no doubt feudatories of the Pālas, while Hemanta's son Vijayasena (*c.* 1097-1159 A.D.), who married a princess of the Śūra dynasty of Bengal, established his sway over the whole of Bengal at the expense of the Pāla king Madanapāla (*c.* 1144-61 A.D.) and the contemporary Varman ruler of East Bengal about the middle of the 12th century. Vijaya's empire was preserved intact by his son and successor Ballālasena (*c.* 1159-79 A.D.) who married the Chālukya princess Rāmadevī and conquered the eastern part of Bihar. But his son Lakshmaṇasena (*c.* 1179-1206 A.D.) was ousted from the western part of his empire by the Turkish Musalmans about the beginning of the 13th century and repaired to East Bengal where his descendants ruled till the middle of that century. The history of the Senas is a remarkable chapter in the annals of Bengal. They were not only great patrons of literature but were responsible for the revival of Brahmanical Hinduism after the long rule of the Buddhist Pālas. According to tradition Ballālasena reorganised the social system of the higher communities of Bengal and was greatly responsible for the development of the peculiar order known as Kulinism.[15]

In Mithilā or North Bihar, a Karṇāṭa chief named Nānyadeva (*c.* 1097-1147 A.D.) established himself on the ruins of the empire of the Buddhist Pālas and extended his power over Nepal at the expense of the Malla kings. After his death his dominions appear to have been divided into two halves, one occupied by his son Gaṅgadeva (*c.* 1147-88 A.D.) and the other including portions of Nepal by his other son Malladeva. The history of the Karṇāṭa rule in Mithilā is obscure, while that of their rule in Nepal has also not yet been satisfactorily determined. King Gaṅga is said to have been succeeded by his son Narasiṁha (*c.* 1188-1227 A.D.) who is supposed to have been followed on the throne by Rāmsiṁha (*c.* 1227-85 A.D.) and Harasiṁha or Harisiṁha (*c.* 1285-1324 A.D.), although the account is doubtful and little authentic information about the rulers in question is available.[16] Harasiṁha or Harisiṁha was defeated by Sultān Ghiyāsuddīn Balban of Delhi in 1324 A.D. and is stated to have fled to Nepal on the annexation of the Karṇāṭa kingdom of Mithilā to the Muslim empire.

The Karṇāṭa period of the annals of Mithilā is as important as the Sena epoch in the history of Bengal. Unfortunately neither the political nor the cultural history of the period has been satisfactorily worked out. Harasiṁha or Harisiṁha, the last Karṇāṭa king of Mithilā, is credited by local tradition with the reorganisation of the social system of Mithilā, just as Ballālasena is endowed with a similar achievement in Bengal.

The expression *Rāshṭrakūṭa* is used in the records of certain rulers of Kannaḍa origin in the sense of an official designation indicating the head of a small territorial unit called *Rāshṭra* or a group of villages. This official designation was often stereotyped as a family name and a number of Rāshṭrakūṭa ruling families are known to have flourished in and outside Karṇāṭaka in different ages of history. The most important of these families is the Imperial Rāshṭrakūṭas of Mānyakheṭa who ruled over wide areas of Southern India sometimes with parts of the North from the middle of the 8th to the later half of the 10th century A.D. The prominent monarchs of this family were Dhruva (783-94 A.D.), Govinda III (794-814 A.D.), Indra III (915-28 A.D.) and Kṛishṇa III (939-68 A.D.). In the North, Dhruva defeated Vatsarāja (*c.* 780-810 A.D.), the Gurjara-Pratihāra king of the Malwa-Rajasthan region. His son Govinda III defeated Vatsarāja's son and successor Nāgabhaṭa II (*c.* 910-33 A.D.) who had ousted king Chakrāyudha of Kanauj and established himself at that city, while king Dharmapāla of Bengal and Bihar and his ally Chakrāyudha surrendered to the Rāshṭrakuṭa monarch and sought his help against the Gurjara-Pratihāra king. Indra III sacked the city of Kanauj which was the capital of the Gurjara-Pratihāras, while the success of Kṛishṇa III in the North is clearly indicated by the discovery of an inscription of his in the former Jaso State in Baghelkhand. The success of the Rāshṭrakūṭa army in the South was the most conspicuous during the reign of Kṛishṇa III who conquered as far down as Cape Comorin and also invaded Ceylon.[17]

Like the empire of the Chālukyas of Bādāmi, the dominions of the Rāshṭrakūṭas of Mānyakheṭa included almost the entire Marāṭhī-speaking area in the North-Western Deccan together with a considerable portion of the Gujarāṭī-speaking area lying to its north. This region was thus ruled by the Karṇāṭas, i.e. the viceroys of the Chālukya and Rāshṭrakūṭa emperors, for several hundreds of years from the 7th century onwards. The history of such feudatory families of Karṇāṭa origin flourshing in this area as the Chālukyas, Rāshṭrakūṭas and Sendrakas is well known to the students of early Indian history. The Chaulukyas of Gujarāt (10th to 13th century) were probably of Karṇāṭa extraction and may have been related to the Early Chālukyas of Bādāmi. The Paramāras who later ruled for several centuries over Malwa were originally viceroys of the Rāshṭrakūṭas of Mānyakheṭa in the southern parts of Gujarāt. But whether they were of Karṇāṭa origin cannot be determined in the present state of our knowledge. Similar is the case with the Yādavas of Devagiri, who were originally feudatories of the Later Chālukyas of Kalyāṇa.

We have seen above that the official designation *Rāshṭrakūṭa* originated in Karṇāṭaka and that it was adopted as a family name by a number of ruling families. In the Kannaḍa-speaking area, the Raṭṭas of Saundatti[18] represented the most notable Rāshṭrakūṭa family besides the Imperial Rāshṭrakūṭas. Among other Rāshṭrakūṭa families flourishing in the land lying to the south of the Vindhyas, mention may be made of the Rāshṭrakūṭas of Mānapura (6th and 7th centuries), of Berar (7th and 8th centuries) and of Orissa (11th and 12th centuries). The history of all these families has been discussed by us else-where.[19] But there were many Rāshṭrakūṭa families ruling over different areas in other parts of India and there is little doubt that all of them originally hailed from Karṇāṭa, although in many cases the Kannaḍa origin of the families was gradually forgotten with the lapse of time. Among these, we have already referred to the Rāshṭrakūṭa chiefs ruling over East Bihar under the Pālas.

Among the Rāshṭrakūṭa families of North India, the earliest is the house known from an inscription at Pathari, about 40 miles to the north-east of Bhilsa in Madhya Pradesh. The three generations mentioned in the record ruled between *c.* 760 and 865 A.D.[20] Further north, nine generations of the Rāshṭrakūṭas of Kanauj are known to have flourished between *c.* 1050 and 1210 A.D. The most important members of this dynasty were Gopāla (*c.* 1090 A.D.), his son Madanapāla (*c.* 1119-25 A.D.) and a later ruler named Lakshmaṇapāla (*c.* 1202 A.D.).[21]

In Western India, the earliest Rāshṭrakūṭa families are those of Hastikuṇḍi (modern Hathundi) in the Jodhpur Division of Rajasthan and of Dhanop near Shahpura in the Udaipur Division of the same State. Five generations of the former family are known to have flourished in the period between 900 and 1000 A.D.[22] while the latter ruled roughly between 950 and 1010 A.D.[23] Four generations of the Rāshṭrakūṭa or Raṭhaḍā family of Bithu near Pali in the Jodhpur Division flourished in the period *c.* 1200-1315 A.D.[24] An inscription from Veraval near Junagarh, dated in 1384 A.D., speaks of a ruler named Bharma of the Rāshṭroḍa or Rāshṭrakūṭa family.

The Prakrit form of *Rāshṭrakūṭa* is *Raṭṭhaüḍa*[25] and *Rāṭhoḍa* is a modification of the latter. The Rāṭhors (i.e. Rāṭhoḍas) of Rajasthan were regarded in the medieval age as one of the most notable Rajput clans, their Kannaḍa origin having been forgotten long ago just as the Later Senas were never regarded as anything else than Bengalis. Because marriage in Royal families in ancient and medieval India, and even in quite recent times, was hardly confined to the communities to which the particular kings belonged, it was easy for the members of a ruling family to be regarded as natives of their new homeland.

Besides the Rāshṭrakūṭas, there were many other ruling families of Kannaḍa origin which flourished far away from Karṇāṭaka during the medieval period. We have discussed elsewhere the history of some such dynasties, viz. the Chhindaka-Nāgas of Bastar and Chhattisgarh and the Tailapavaṁśīs of Orissa.[26] There was also a Chhinda ruling family in Bihar, though their relations with the members of the Chhindaka-Nāga family ruling in Madhya Pradesh are unknown.[27]

The system of designating administrative and territorial units in relation to the number of *grāmas* in them was very popular in Karṇāṭaka in early times. Thus the three Mahārāshṭras forming the dominions of Chālukya Pulakeśin II (610-42 A.D.) of Bādāmi are stated to have comprised 99,000 *grāmas* while there are numerous territorial and administrative units designated as follows: Gaṅgavādi 96020, Banavāsi 12000, Tardavāḍi 1000, Pānuṅgal 500, Purigere 300, Masavāḍi 140, Kuknūr 30, etc.[28] Outside Karṇāṭaka, such designations of territorial and administrative units are found in some cases in the medieval records of Gujarat and Malwa. This may be explained by the fact that the former region formed a part of the Karṇāṭaka empire for several centuries during the early medieval period, while the latter territory was ruled in the medieval age by the Paramāras who were originally feudatories of the Rāshṭrakūṭas of Karṇāṭaka. There are only a few instances of the same kind of territorial names in other parts of India, though it is difficult to say whether Karṇāṭa settlers were responsible for any or all of them.

There is a general tendency among scholars to describe the alphabet used in the early inscriptions discovered in the countries of Indonesia and Indo-China as Pallava-Grantha and to speak of the expansion of Indo-Aryan culture in those territories from the Coromandel Coast during the rule of the Pallavas.[29] These views are unwarranted. In the first place, the alphabet used in the Pallava inscriptions between the 4th and 6th centuries A.D. cannot be called Pallava-Grantha, but is in reality the Late Brāhmī common to the southern and western parts of India. Secondly, the early inscriptions of the lands beyond the Bay of Bengal are mostly written in verse like the epigraphs of the Early Kadambas and unlike those of the Early Pallavas. Thirdly, the box-headed alphabet used in the inscriptions of king Bhadravarman of Champā (South Annam) is not characteristic of Early Pallava inscriptions, but is generally found in the epigraphic records of Central India and the Upper Deccan as well as in the Kannaḍa-speaking western regions of South India. Fourthly, the Śaka era introduced in Indo-China and Indonesia about the 6th century A.D. was never used in the inscriptions of the Pallavas and it was the Chālukyas of Bādāmi (from the 6th to the 8th century) who were responsible for the association of the name Śaka with the said era and the popularity of its use in the present Kannaḍa and Marāṭhī-speaking areas. These facts make it clear that the Karṇāṭas played an important role in the spread of Indian culture in the lands beyond the Bay of Bengal.

References

1 For the Eastern Gaṅgas, see *The Classical Age*, pp. 214 ff., and *The Age of Imperial Kanauj*, pp. 139 ff., and for the Eastern Chālukyas, the former, pp. 250 ff., and the latter, pp. 132 ff. For the Eastern Kadamba chiefs who were subordinate to the Eastern Gaṅgas, see *The Age of Imperial Kanauj*, pp. 144.

2 The Khalimpur plate of Dharmapāla does not refer to the mercenaries. See *Gauḍalekhamālā*, p. 16.

3 *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXIII, p. 291.

4 *Gauḍalekhamālā*, p. 39.

5 *Ibid.*, p. 153.

6 Cf., e.g., the grants of certain kings of the Kumaun-Garhwal region who flourished in the 9th and 10th centuries A.D. (*Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXXI, pp. 280, 287, 294).

7 Ray, *DHNI*, Vol. I, p. 288.

8 *Ibid.*, pp. 304, 339-40.

9 *Ibid.*, p. 340.

10 Her daughter Kumāradevī was the queen of the celebrated Gāhaḍavāla monarch Govindachandra of Vārāṇasī.

11 *Ibid.*, *loc. cit.*, p. 387. We know many other instances of matrimonial alliances between the ruling families of Karṇāṭaka and such dynasties as the Guptas, Vākāṭakas, Kalachuris and others.

12 *Ibid.*, p. 331.

13 *Ibid.*, p. 355.

14 *Ibid.*, loc. cit.

15 For the detailed history of the Senas, see *History of Bengal*, Dacca University, Vol. I, pp. 205 ff.

16 See *ABORI*, Vol. XXXV, pp. 91 ff.

17 For a detailed history of the Rāshṭrakūṭas, see A. S. Altekar, *The Rāshṭrakuṭas and their Times*.

18 See *Bomb. Gaz.*, Vol. I, Part II, pp. 549 ff.

19 For the Rāshṭrakūṭas of Mānapura and Berar, see *The Classical Age*, pp. 199 ff., and for those of Orissa, cf. *The Struggle for Empire*, pp. 221-22. To the account of the Mānapura house, we may now add that Vibhurāja of the Hingniberdi plates (*Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXIX, pp. 174 ff.) and Dejjamahārāja of the Gokak plates (*ibid.*, Vol. XXI, pp. 289 ff.) may have belonged to the same family. Rāshṭrakūṭa Govindarāja, the son of Śivarāja and grandson of Nannappa and a feudatory of Chālukya Vikramāditya II of Bādāmi, probably also belonged to the same house (cf. *The Classical Age*, pp. 199, 201; see *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXVII, p. 147).

20 Ray, *op. cit.*, pp. 557 ff.

21 *Ibid.*, pp. 557 ff.

22 *Ibid.*, pp. 560 ff.

23 *Ibid.*, pp. 562-63.

24 *Ibid.*, pp. 563 ff.

25 *Ibid.*, p. 565.

26 See *The Struggle for Empire*, pp 214 ff.; 223.

27 Cf. *JASB*, *N.S.*, Vol. XXIX, pp. 23-25.

28 See *JBRS*, Vol. XL, Part i, pp. 10 ff.

29 See, e.g., *JRASB*, Vol. I, 1935, pp. 1 ff.

INDIA'S HISTORIANS OF OLD: BARANI

Sukumar Ray

Zia-ud-din Barani is India's first great Muslim historian: his predecessors--Utbi, Baihaqi and Minhaj-us-Siraj who wrote on India—were all foreigners. Zia-ud-din was a child of the soil, a native of Baran, modern Bulandshahr in U.P. His forefathers were employed in the service of the State: his father held the deputy-governorship of Baran for several years; his uncle was Kotwal of Delhi in Alauddin Khalji's reign and was one of the king's friends and counsellors and his maternal grandfather was appointed to a position of trust under Balban. He was born in 1285 when that iron king had already laid deep the foundation of the Sultanate of Delhi; his manhood was passed in the palmy days of Alauddin Khalji and Muhammad ibn Tughluq when the kingdom of Delhi reached its climax and his old age witnessed the first premonitions of its decay in the last days of Muhammad and the beginning of the reign of his successor Firuz Shah. Barani spent long seventeen years at the court of his patron Sultan Muhammad; he held no official position; he was an entertaining conversationalist and raconteur rather than an official and was held in high esteem by the Sultan. Barani thus had ample opportunities of acquainting himself with the affairs of the Sultans of Delhi. Though he had not the erudition of an Al-Biruni or an Abu'l Fazl, he possessed the requisite intellectual equipments for a historian. He received his education at Delhi which had then become a refuge of men of letters and science from Persia and Central Asia due to Mongol devastations. He was a friend of the great poets, Amir Khusrau and Amir Hasan and the trio formed a happy team. He was well-read in Commentaries of the Quran, Tradition, Jurisprudence as well as Sufism but he considered history as superior to all these studies. He wrote treatises on scriptural commentaries and religious practices as well as on law and statecraft but his magnum opus was his History—*Tarikh-i-Firuz Shahi* which he completed in 1357 at the ripe old age of seventy-two and dedicated to the reigning king.

Barani's conception of history is lofty indeed. History according to him makes a man wise and enables him to take lessons from the past. Truth is indispensable for the historian: it is the foundation of all history. A historian who describes the good qualities of a king should not conceal his defects. Bias or friendship should not influence the writing of history. If it is not possible for the historian to record the truth frankly, he must do so by implications and suggestions. If it is not possible for the historian to state the truth about living persons, he should by no means be excused if he fails to do so about the dead. One is reminded of the recluse of Lausanne who drew his inspiration from the ruins of the Eternal City and wrote his eternal work on the Roman empire with the motto: 'truth, naked and unblushing truth'. Barani assures us that he has recorded nothing by the truth. Some regard this as an empty boast, an inflated self-estimation. True, the personal equation of the author could not be eliminated in his work: Barani could not be free from the clerical outlook of his age. *Pari passau* no historian of Mediaeval India could except Akbar's Boswell who too had his own bias. And to do justice to Barani we have to bear in mind that the citizen of the world Thucydides could be Athenian that Macaulay was a Whig, that Mommsen's imperial bias is unmistakable and even Gibbon is antichristian.

Barani takes up the thread of narrative where Minhaj-us-Siraj leaves it (there is of course a lacuna of six years). The *Tarikh-i-Firuz Shahi* deals with the history of Muslim India from the accession of Balban in 1266 to the sixth year of Firuz Shah's reign (1356). For this period of ninety years Barani is our primary authority and all subsequent historians based their accounts of the period on his narrative. It is a significant period of India's history, the foundation, consolidation and the beginning of the decline of the Delhi kingdom: a period which produced such colourful and dramatic peronalities as the Persianised Balban, the 'Prussian' Alauddin and the marvellous Muhammad. For the earlier portion of this period Barani had of course to depend on others, his father and uncle and people who had knowledge of things but from the times of Alauddin Khalji he could write on personal observation and particularly on Muhammad ibn Tughluq with whom he was in closest contact.

Barani's style is simple and lucid, though in the Introduction as well as here and there, e.g. in dealing with Sultan Kaiqubad's personal life, his diction is florid and highly ornate. He frequently uses Hindi words in the course of his narrative. As a historian Barani is weak at chronology; his dates are few and far between and they are not always correct. His *History* lacks method and arrangement and is rather anecdotal in character. It contains long discourses which the author puts in the mouth of important personages and these mark the continuity of the narrative. The best example is Alauddin's historic conversation with the Qazi of Bayana in which the historian's motive to strain after effect is obvious. Barani has a tendency to strive after the picturesque even at the cost of strict accuracy. His description of the fateful night of Mubarak Shah's murder is so vivid and graphic that one feels as if the historian was present in the apartment where the king was sleeping. He is so fond of epigram that the reader is sometimes at difficulty to understand him: one cannot easily follow whether Barani's Balban is a doctrinaire or a practical statesman or his Alauddin, a tyrant or a benevolent ruler. In his appreciation he is generous and lavish; in his condemnation he is bitter and acrid. Both in his *History* as well as in his work on statecraft the *Fatawa-i-Jahandari* he has described his ideal king and his duties. The clerical bias of Barani runs throughout his work: his hero is the orthodox Firuz and the last portion of his *Tarikh* dealing with that sovereign is nothing but a 'strain of adulation'. Barani regrets that the condition of the Hindus was so flourishing: he considered it so. He is guilty of *suppressio veri*, e.g. he fails to mention the circumstances of Ghiyas-ud-din Tughluq's death and of the perfidy and blood through which his patron waded to the throne. He has omitted many of the inroads of the Mongols in the time of Alauddin Khalji. The charge of deliberate falsehood, however, cannot be laid at his door;

he wrote what he sincerely believed and knew to be true.

Unlike most of India's historians Barani is not a mere chronicler: his *History* is not a mere catalogue of events. He is brief in his description of battles, sieges and campaigns; he analyses the causes and consequences of occurrences; he appreciates, condemns and assesses men and events. He criticises with subtle and incisive humour: he acquaints us with the cheapness of price and the impoverishment of the people by the remark that in Alauddin's time 'a camel was available for a *dang*, but wherefrom a *dang*?'; he hints at the rigours of Alauddin in the revenue administration by saying that 'nobody gave his daughter in marriage to a revenue clerk'. Philip Guedalla has somewhere remarked that the historian should also be a portrait painter; the historical figures who are no more should live once again in his pages. Barani possesses this gift to a certain extent; his character sketches are admirably done and particularly illuminating are those of Balban and Muhammad ibn Tughluq. 'No sovereign' remarks Barani, 'had ever established such pomp and grandeur in Delhi. For the twenty-two years that Balban reigned he maintained the dignity, honour and majesty of the throne in a manner that could not be surpassed. His attendants who waited on him in private never saw his otherwise than fulldressed. He never conversed with persons of low origin or occupation, and never indulged in any familiarity either with friends or strangers by which the dignity of the sovereign could be lowered. He never joked with anyone nor did he allow anyone to joke in his presence; he never laughed aloud, nor did he permit anyone in his court to laugh'. The complex character of Muhammad ibn Tughluq whose conduct was a mass of inconsistensies he has drawn with skill and effect: he has referred to Muhammad's splendid versatility and his practical incompetence, his disregard of Islamic law and absolute subservience to the Caliph, his lavish generosity and his savage cruelty and has summed up by saying that the king was one of the marvels of creation, a freak of nature.

Barani's interest in administrative details, particularly in agrarian matters, lends additional weight to his work, though his remarks are sometimes vague and sketchy. He is one of the very few of India's historians who refers to the peasantry, the backbone of her economy. He discusses at some length the economic measures of Alauddin, Ghiyas-ud-din and Muhammad ibn Tughluq. Barani himself criticises those historians who confine their accounts to kings, their courts and their conquests. His work throws considerable light on the socio-economic conditions of the country. His references to food, clothes and other necessary articles of those days enable us to have some idea about the standard of life obtaining at the time.

Barani the man remains a shadowy figures behind the historian. We do not know so much how he lived and had his being, shed his tears of joy and sorrow and 'cast his shadow in the lost sunlight of forgotten afternoons'. Polite and charming in manners, he possessed social bonhomie and was loved and respected by those who came into contact with him. In any assembly he rivetted the attention of all. Large was his bounty—he had before his death given in charity even the cloths he was wearing. He who had basked in the sunshine of courtly favour for long seventeen years became the *persona non-grata* of the court under Firuz. These last days of despair and gloom he spent in devout retirement at a suburb of Delhi when he composed his literary works. India's great votary of Clio died poor and destitute—so poor that he had not a piece of cloth to cover his shroud. He was buried near the mausoleum of the celebrated saint Nizam-ud-din Auliya whose devoted disciple he had been.

SOME PROBLEMS OF INDIAN PALAEOGRAPHY

C. C. DAS GUPTA

PALAEOGRAPHY is a subject which deals with the origin and development of scripts. A few centuries ago scholars did not know how to decipher the old records. After that time a number of scholars began to take interest in the discovery and decipherment of old records in various parts of Europe, Asia, Africa and America. The result of such an attempt is the discovery of a number of old records in different parts of the world and also the decipherment of some of them.

On account of this search for old records in different parts of the world and also because of the decipherment of a number of old records we have at present a good literature on the subject. There is a number of European scholars who have worked on the origin and development of scripts. The most recent scholar in this line is Dr. David Diringer whose book in Italian, viz., "L'Alfabeto nella storia della Civilta" is a learned, thorough and up-to-date one. This Italian book is also revised and translated into English under the title, "The Alphabet." In this very learned treatise the author has discussed in the introduction the importance, origin and evolution of the script. He has also dealt with the inscriptional significance of some pre-historic incisions. In the first part of this work he has dealt with the ideographic script. In this connection the Egyptian script has been critically studied. After this a discussion has been made of the proto-Indian script as found at Mohenjo-daro, Harappa and other places belonging to the Indus Civilisation. Subsequently he has dealt with the Cretan, Hittite and Chinese scripts. A discussion has also been made of the principal syllabic systems of writing. In this connection he has discussed the script of Cyprus and the old Persian cuneiform script. In the second part the author has, first of all, discussed the question of the origin of the alphabet. In this connection he has taken into consideration the importance of the old Sinai inscriptions and the north

Semitic inscriptions. The third part of this book deals with the evolution of the alphabetical script. Here he, first of all, deals with the Ethiopian script and then the Greek Script and Italian script as exemplified by the Etruscan inscriptions and lastly the Latin script. In the concluding section he discusses the script of America such as Maya and the scripts of India, viz., Kharoṣṭhī and Brāhmī.

The study of Indian scripts also goes back to more than a century. At one time there was no knowledge about early Indian inscriptions; but by the find of a number of old Indian records by archaeologists we have come to know about a number of inscriptions. It was mainly due to James Princep that the Brāhmī and Kharoṣṭhī scripts were deciphered with the help of bilingual coins of the Indo-Greek rulers. After this a number of scholars had written on the subject in the form of research articles; but the scholar who wrote a systematic account of Indian palaeography is the celebrated German Indologist, the late Dr. Georg Bühler who, in his work entitled "Indische Palaeographie" published in 1896, gave, for the first time, a masterly account of the origin and development of Indian scripts. In 1929 the late Prof. E. J. Rapson gave an improved and masterly account of the Kharoṣṭhī script as evidenced in the Kharoṣṭhī documents found in Chinese Turkestan. (Kharoṣṭhī Inscriptions, translated and edited by Boyer, Rapson and Senart, Pt. III, 1929). The present author has recently published his book entitled "The Development of the Kharoṣṭhī Script" in which he has happily mixed up the methods of Bühler and Rapson and thereby formulated a new method for writing on this subject.

The present author will discuss here a number of problems of Indian palaeography. First and foremost of all problems is the decipherment of the Indus Script exemplified in a number of seals discovered at Mohenjo-daro, Harappa, Chanhudaro and others. Many scholars have tried their best to decipher this script; but all their attempts have been unsuccessful. Some scholars have rightly said that the solution of this problem lies in the discovery of any bilingual inscription containing the Indus Script and any other script, preferably Sumerian. We also know that the Brāhmī and the Kharoṣṭhī scripts were deciphered with the help of bilingual coin-legends of the Indo-Greek rulers in which we find the presence of the Greek script on the one hand and the Brāhmī or the Kharoṣṭhī script on the other. Mr. Gadd of the British Museum found some seals of Indus Valley style at Ur, a well-known Sumerian site; but no inscription has been found on any of them. More efforts by the co-operation of experts in Indology and Near East Archaeology are necessary for the decipherment of this script.

If we accept that the Indus Valley period terminated in the third millennium B.C., there is certainly a great gap between this period and the Maurya period. Excavations have been carried out in a number of places in India, particularly north India, in order to find out any remain of the pre-Mauryan period. Though pre-Mauryan antiquities have been found, yet no decidedly pre-Mauryan inscription has been discovered. The highly finished nature of the inscriptions of Aśoka probably pre-supposes the existence of the script previous to the time of Aśoka, barring the Indus Valley script. Excavations on a wider and more extensive scale are necessary to bridge up this gap. There is no doubt that a number of excavations has been carried out; but no trace of any pre-Mauryan script has yet been found.

Further, there may be many Indian documents and manuscripts which have not yet been searched and whose scripts have not yet been properly studied. For the proper study of the origin and development of Indian scripts it is essential to do this work. No proper and adequate study has been made of thousands of manuscripts which are lying unedited in various libraries of India as well as abroad. Unless this is done, a thorough study of this topic is not possible. For this work a band of workers is necessary.

It is well-known that the Greek script was in use in India from the time of Alexander the Great, i.e., *c.* 4th century B.C. to the fifth century A.D., i.e. the time of Skandagupta, the Gupta emperor mainly on coins and medals. In this period the Greek script was used not only to convey the Greek language but also several other non-European languages. It was used as an ornament during the Gupta period. The late Prof. E. J. Rapson found out, in a number of Greek letters used in India, the change due to evolution. A thorough study of the Greek script as found in India is necessary.

Study of palaeography on the comparative basis is also a great desideratum. This is necessary in order to study the origin of Indian scripts as well as their development. For example, a comparative study of the Kharoṣṭhī Script as prevalent in the Aśokan age and the Aramaic script gives us an idea about the origin of the Kharoṣṭhī script. Whether the old Indian scripts, particularly the Brāhmī script, may be traced back to any pictographic script rests probably on the study of ancient pictographic scripts. Whether the script of the Indus Valley period is a form of pictographic script also depends on the study of other pictographic scripts. The use of the Gupta script on some types of Gupta Coins in a vertical way is certainly reminiscent of the Chinese script which is written in that way. Here only a few cases have been given to show the importance of comparative palaeography. In this connection special mention may be made here that in India there is no proper arrangement for the study of inscriptions found in different parts of the world and there is also a paucity of books regarding this point in different libraries of India. It is high time that an attempt is made in this respect in India.

'ĀNVĪKṢIKĪ-STHĀPANĀ' SECTION IN THE ARTHAŚĀSTRA OF KAUṬILYA

Pulin Bihari Chakravarti

The discovery of the text of the Arthaśāstra of Kauṭilya was indeed an epoch making event in the study of Indology. The said treatise may be undoubtedly regarded as one of the precious gems in the domain of Sanskrit literature, for it has thrown a flood of light on the study of life in ancient India. The credit of the discovery of the manuscript, the first publication of the text and the English translation goes to the late Dr. Shama Sastri. Ever since the appearance of the text in the Mysore Sanskrit Series in 1909 and subsequently that of the translation in 1915, scholars both in India and abroad evinced keen interest in the study of its various aspects. This yielded a fair return. The text provided them with valuable materials on the basis of which they were able to contribute some of the outstanding chapters dealing with political, social and economic history of ancient India.

The first edition was exlusively based upon a *grantha* manuscript procured from Tanjore, South India. A revised edition based upon two other Madras Manuscripts appeared in 1919. This was followed by the much improved edition of Ganapati Sastri in the Trivandrum Sanskrit series. The late editor also enhanced its value by a sanskrit commentary of his own. Meanwhile, a critical edition by Jolly and Schimdt with a masterly introduction and notes was published in two parts in the Punjab Sanskrit Series; the first part contained the text and the introduction, while the second contained useful notes as well as the fragments of an ancient commentary of the same of Naya-Candrikā by Mādhava Yajvan. The German translation by Meyer with notes and introduction appeared in 1926.

It is not my aim here to survey the various contributions made by scholars in this field. While lecturing to the students on Kauṭilya, one thing that puzzled me much was the language of the text. It is a problem even to those sanskrit scholars who are trained according to the traditional method. Though the author himself in the course of assessing the merit of his work does not hesitate to remark that it is easily accessible (*sukhagrahaṇa-vijñeyam*), but to us who are separated from him by several centuries, the reverse appears to be more correct. If Bāṇa Bhaṭṭa's prose may be remarked as 'an Indian wood' then why should we hesitate to compliment Kauṭilya's text as a '*vana-durga*'—a fortress beset with thickets?

The reason as to why the text of the Arthaśāstra cannot be easily understood and interpreted is not very far to seek. With the disappearance of the accredited works on Indian politics, our knowledge in this particular branch of study became sectional. Whatever we could inherit from the previous generation of our teachers was mainly confined to the Kāmandakīya-Nītisāra and the Rājadharma sections of the Mahābhārata and the Dharmaśāstras. The accounts furnished by the majority of such texts are not comprehensive; they are found to deal mainly with the theories and policies that are to be pursued by the king, his duty towards his subjects, punishment of the criminals, fixation of tax, and the like. As regards the functioning of the various state departments, very little is known from these sources. The result is that most of the technical terms and expressions used in the Arthaśāstra with special reference to the method of running the various administrative departments of the government are now appearing to us like a set of code words though such stock words were frequently used even by the ordinary people in those days. Then again, the manuscript materials on the basis of which the text was edited are not adequate. Though the learned editors tried their best to make their respective editions as perfect as possible, still the printed texts need emendations in certain instances. This is not all. There are such words occuring in the text as have become almost obsolete in our time while there are others which have developed changes in meaning in course of time. Briefly speaking, these are some of the handicaps that stand in the way of the interpretation of the text to the satisfaction of scholars.

Our difficulties would have been remedied to a considerable extent if we could get adequate help from the ancient commentaries. Unfortunately, not even a single commentary written by any celebrated exponent of politics has come down to us in its complete form. We find Kṣīrasvāmin in his commentary on the Amarakośa quoting from the commentary on Kauṭilya but we know nothing else of that particular commentary. Of the fragmentary manuscripts of commentaries so far discovered, mention may be made of the Pratipada-pañcikā by Bhaṭṭasvāmin which is found to contain portions of the second adhikaraṇa only. However, it has been printed in the Journal of the Bihar Orissa Research Society (Vol. XI, Part I, Vol. XII, Part III). Another manuscript contains portions of a commentary of the name of Naya-candrikā of Mādhava Yajvan. It commences from the seventh chapter of the seventh adhikaraṇa and terminates abruptly in the middle of the fourth chapter of the twelfth adhikaraṇa. As stated above, it was edited by Jolly in the second part of his edition. The third manuscript containing portions of an important commentary by Yogghama has been noticed in the Descriptive Catalogue of MSS. in the Jaina Bhandars at Pattan. The following colophon is found to occur at the end of it: *iti mugdhavilāsāṃka-Yogghama-viracita-Nītinirṇītyabhidhānāyām Kauṭalīya-rāja-siddhānta-ṭīkāyām adhyakṣapracāre prathamo'dhyāyaḥ.* It is now awaiting publication under the editorship of Jinavijaya Muni. Besides these, a complete commentary of the name of Jayamaṅgalā has been appearing in parts in the Journal of Oriental Research, Madras. From a persual of the printed portions of these commentaries, the fact becomes clear that these are not always found to elucidate the difficult sentences and expressions to the entire satisfaction of the inquisitive students. This reminds us of the well known remark of Bhoja Deva made against the commentators in general. He charges them as those who avoid the most difficult portions with the remark that the meaning is clear there (*durbodhaṃ yat tadatīva vijahati spaṣṭārtham ityuktibhiḥ*).

I shall now try to substantiate some of my observations by means of a few concrete illustrations from the text. First of all, as an instance, I intend to take up the sentence '*kriyā hi* *dravyaṃ vinayati nādravyam*' occuring in the fifth chapter of the first adhikaraṇa. Ganapati Sastri in his commentary explained this in a round about way. Jolly and Schimdt did not comment upon this. Shama Sastri's translation of this sentence is faithful, but he made it painfully literal. It runs thus: "instruction (*kriyā*) can render only a docile being conformable to the rules of discipline, and not an undocile being (*adravyam*)"—fourth edition, p. 9. Now, it is well known that *kriyā* usually means 'action' while *dravya* means 'an entity'. But it may be at once realised that the ordinary meaning of the terms will not suit here. Hence, these two words need further discussion. Amara in his lexicon gives nine different meanings of the term *kriyā*. Thus he states:—

> *ārambho niṣkṛtiḥ śikṣā pūjanaṃ sampradhāraṇam,*
> *upāyaḥ karma ceṣṭā ca cikitsā ca nava kriyā* (III. 157).

Kṣīrasvāmin in his commentary spares no pains to explain the couplet by copious illustrations from the authoritative texts. It is interesting to notice that he quotes here this very maxim of Kauṭilya to illustrate the use of the term *kriyā* in the sense of 'knowledge' (. . . . . *śikṣā yathā—kriyā hi dravyaṃ vinayati nādravyam*). Then again, with regard to *dravya*, Amara states—"*dravyam bhavye guṇāśraye*" (III. 154). *Guṇāśraya* speaks of the Vaiśeṣika view. According to this system of thought *dravya* means 'substance' which again is held to be the substratum of qualities (*guṇāśrayo dravyam*). But this meaning is not suitable here. The other meaning is *bhavya*. Now what is meant by *bhavya*? Here Kṣīrasvāmin adds—"*bhabye yogye. . . . yathā—kriyā hi dravyaṃ vinayati nādravyam*". He furnishes the same example to illustrate the use of *dravya* in the sense of *bhavya* which again means *yogya* i.e., one who is worthy, capable, efficient or fit.

The term *dravya* is used in the sense of *bhavya* even by Pāṇini (*dravyaṃ ca bhavye* V. iii. 104). In this connection Jayāditya states in the Kāśikā that *bhavya* is one 'who is self-possessed' meaning thereby one who is able or efficient to discharge his duties. For instance, 'this prince is a *dravya*', 'this boy is a *dravya*'. Evidently *dravya* in this context speaks of one's inherent ability or efficiency. And from the trend of discussion in the commentary it appears that such ability or efficiency is the property of self-possession (*bhavya ātmavān—abhipretānām arthānām upāyabhūta ucyate, dravyo’yaṃ rājaputraḥ, dravyo’yaṃ māṇavakaḥ*).

In order to facilitate further discussion on the meaning of *kriyā* and *dravya* I am quoting below the full extract from the Arthaśāstra where these two words find their place:—*kriyā hi dravyaṃ vinayati nādravyam. śuśrūṣā-śravaṇa-grahaṇa-dhāraṇa-vijñānohāpoha-tattvābhiniviṣṭabuddhiṃ vidyā vinayati netaram.* The extract contains two sentences—the first is an aphoristic statement while the second is explanatory. In others words, the former occupies the place of the sūtra while the second may be taken to be its bhāṣya, for it is expressly stated at the end of the work that the author himself composed the sūtra as well as the bhāṣya (*svayam eva Viṣṇuguptas cakāra sūtraṃ ca bhāṣyaṃ ca*). From a perusal of the two sentences occuring in the extract as quoted above, it is clear that the finite verb *vinayati* is common to both the sentences. Secondly, the expression *nādravyam* which may also be construed as *na dravyetaram* has been replaced by *netaram* in the second sentence affecting thereby no difference in meaning. Thirdly, the term *kriyā* occupying the position of the subject in the first sentence has been replaced by the term *vidyā* in the second sentence. It thus appears that the author himself meant *vidyā* i.e., ‘knowledge’ by the term *kriyā*. The long compound in the accusative case obviously characterises *dravya* and thereby seeks to explain the same. Elsewhere, these different members of the compound have been stated to be the characteristics of wisdom (VI.i). From this it may be concluded that *dravya* in the Arthaśāstra refers to a person who is attentive to his lessons with power to grasp (*grahaṇa*) and retain (*dhāraṇa*) the same, and also competent enough to judge the merit of what he has acquired. Finally, it follows from our discussion that *dravya* according to Kauṭilya means a person who is intellectually fit and possesses sobriety of judgment.

The expression *prāmityakam* and *āpamityakam* also deserve special attention. According to Kauṭilya, procurement of grains by begging from others is termed *prāmityakam* while borrowing of grains with condition to repay the same is *āpamityakam* (*sasya-yācanam anyataḥ prāmityakam, tadeva pratidānārtham āpamityakam*—II. 15). One thing to be observed here is that the form *prāmityakam* can not be defended by the rules of Pāṇini though the grammarian makes provision for the formation of *yācitakam* (IV. 4. 21)—a term which also means anything obtained by begging. Following Pāṇini, Amara also in his lexicon states "*yācñayāptaṃ yācitakam*"—II. 9.4. But Bhaṭṭavasvāmin seems to have adopted the reading *yācitakam* instead of *prāmityakam*. This is apparent from his elucidation of the corresponding portion of the text. It runs thus: "*sasya-yācanaṃ dhānya-prārthanam anyato mitrāder yācitakam.*". It will not be out of place here to point out the fact that the very term *yācitakam* also finds its place elsewhere in the text of Kauṭilya (V. 2). Then again, Bhaṭṭasvāmin's explanation of *āpamityakam* also goes a step further. He states that such borrowings are to be repaid with interest though Kauṭilya himself does not make any such specific mention. However, such a view is also endorsed by Muni, an ancient lexicographer, quoted by Kṣīrasvāmin in his commentary on the Amarkośa (II. 9. 4). Further discrepancy in determining the meaning of the expression *āpamityakam* has been created by Pāṇini. In his opinion, it is the Northerners who prefer such a form to mean 'barter'[1]. But Kauṭilya's special term for 'barter' is *parivartaka* (*sasyādīnām arghāntareṇa vinimayaḥ parivarttakaḥ*—II. 15), and this is also the view of Muni, the lexicographer.[2]

Let us now turn our attention to the term *sasyaka* which according to Kauṭilya means a special type of precious stone (II. 11). Bhaṭṭasvāmin describes it to be a variety of sapphire (*sasyako nīlaḥ*) without referring to the source of his information. Ganapati Sastri also blindly follows him. Shama Sastri's translation of the term (*sasyaka*=plant like) makes no sense. Grammatically speaking, the suffix *kan* is added to the stem *sasya* by the rule "*sasyena parijātaḥ*" (Pāṇini, V. 2. 68). According to the Siddhānta-kaumudī the term *sasya* means here 'quality' and not 'grain'. However, important light in this connection is shed by Jayāditya in his Kāśikā. He states that the term *sasya* occuring in this sūtra implies 'quality', and the expression *sasyena parijātaḥ* means something whose all round perfection is inherent. In other words, it speaks of what is absolutely free from defects. For instance, a jewel is called *sasyaka* meaning thereby that it is purged of all impurities even at the stage when it is quarried. After all, it is a precious stone which is originally pure and needs no further polishing (*....yo guṇaiḥ sambaddho jāyate, yasya kiñcidapi vaiguṇyaṃ nāsti tasyedam abhidhānam...sasyako maṇiḥ—ākarśuddha ityarthaḥ*).

I do not intend to multiply instances. An attempt will, however, be made here to explain the first section of the *vidyā-samuddeśa* chapter in the light of materials collected from different sources.

Vidyā-samuddeśaḥ—Scope of Sciences. Shama Sastri translates 'The End of Sciences'. '*Samuddeśa*', according to the author of the Jayamaṅgalā commentary on the Kāma-sūtra, means a 'concise statement' (*Samuddeśas ca saṃkṣepābhidhānam*, p. 25). However, the expression itself finds its place twice in the introductory chapter of the Arthaśāstra: (1) *tasyāyaṃ prakaraṇādhikaraṇa-samuddeśaḥ* and (2) *sāstrasamuddeśaḥ pañcadaśādhikaraṇāni* etc. Of these, the first one refers to the list of different sections and adhikaraṇas as are treated by the author in his work while the second speaks of the extent of the whole work. *Samuddeśa*, therefore, means contents of a treatise, its extent or scope.

Ānvīkṣikī Trayī Vārttā Daṇḍanītiśceti vidyāḥ: This sentence can be taken as an instance of *uddeśa* i.e., a proposition or a formal statement indicating thereby that it will receive further treatment below. Ānvīkṣikī (also read Āṇvīkṣakī) constitutes the Science of Reasoning. This will be elaborated in its proper place. Trayī comprises the Ṛg, Yajus and Saman, and in its wider connotation it also includes the Atharva-veda, the Brāhmaṇas and the six Aṅgas. Thus it is stated in the next section: "*Sāmarg-Yajurvedās trayas Trayī, Atharvavedetihāsavedau ca Vedāḥ, Śikṣā Kalpo Vyākaraṇaṃ Niruktaṃ Chandovicitir Jyotiṣamiti cāṅgāni*". The expression '*Atharvavedetihāsavedau*' deserves special attention. It is a *dvandva* compound having the expressions 'Atharva-veda and 'Itihāsa-veda' as its components. Now, what is meant by 'Itihāsa-veda'? According to Ganapati Sastri it refers to the Mahābhārata and such other works (*Itihāsa-vedo Mahābhāratādiśca Vedapadārthāḥ*) while Sten Konow holds that "the

Itihāsaveda is stated, in I.V. to include Arthaśāstra and Dharmaśāstra" (Kauṭalya studies, p.8—Oslo, 1945). He then quotes the following sentence of Kauṭilya in support of his view: *Purāṇamitivṛttamākhyāyikodāharanaṃ dharmaśāstramarthaśāstraṃ cetītihāsaḥ*—(I.5). But one thing he failed to notice here that it is 'Itihāsa' and not 'Itihāsaveda' that covers such kinds of literature. In my opinion, Itihāsaveda comprises the Brāhmaṇas which amidst other things are found to contain the history of the ancient kings, sages and such other prominent personalities whenever occassion arises. Such kinds of ancient traditions are called Purā-kalpa in the Vedic literature. And according to the traditional view, the recording of Purā-kalpa is one of the essential requisites of the Brāhmaṇas.

Vārttā is related to *vṛtti* or the 'means of subsistence'. As a science it comprises agriculture, animal husbandry and commerce. Thus states Kauṭilya—*Kṛṣi-paśupālye vaṇijyā ca Vārttā*—(I.4). From this it follows that it falls within the province of Economics.

Daṇḍanīti constitutes the Science of government. The following etymology of the term *daṇḍa* has been suggested by Aupamanyava, an ancient authority who is quoted even by Yāska: *daṇḍo damanādity' Aupamanyavaḥ* (Nirukta, II.2). Evidently, *daṇḍa* means 'punishment'. In classical sanskrit it also means a rod—the punishment incarante. It is to be handled by the king whenever occassion arises to do so. Consequently, Daṇḍanīti means the 'policy of handling the rod'. In other words, it may be stated to be the philosophy of the rod by means of which the king exercises his punitive power.

Trayī Vārttā Daṇḍanītiśceti Mānabāḥ, Trayīviśeṣo hy' Ānvīkṣikī: Trayī, Vārttā and Daṇḍanīti—these are the branches of Science. This is the view of the followers of Manu. They do not maintain Ānvīkṣikī as a separate branch of Science. According to them it is to be included within the Trayī. But it is strange to notice that separate mention is made of all these four Sciences in the Rājadharma section of the Manu-Saṃhitā (VII.43). It thus appears that Manu, the politician as referred to by Kauṭilya, is different from Manu, the law giver. However, in the chapter 58 of the Rājadharma section of the Mahābhārata (XII. 58.1-3) mention is made of one Prācetasa Manu as a celebrated exponent of the Science of Politics along with Bṛhaspati, Viśālākṣa, Bharadvāja and others. Moreover, two couplets from his work are also quoted by Bhīṣma just at the end of the preceeding chapter. This Manu, on no account, should be identified with Svāyaṃbhuva Manu, the law giver. Reference to the threefold science is also made in the Rāmāyaṇa where Rāma in his exile exhorts Bharata to follow the track of an ideal king (vidyās tisraśca Rāghava, II. 100. 68—Bombay ed.).

Vārttā Daṇḍanītiśceti Bārhaspatyāḥ, saṃvaraṇamātraṃ hi Trayī lokayātrāvida iti : According to the followers of Bṛhaspati, Science comprises Vārttā and Daṇḍanīti; Trayī is but a protection to him who knows the way of the people.

Saṃvaraṇa: The term also finds its place elsewhere in the Arthaśāstra. In connection with the discussion on secrecy of device, Kauṭilya states that *mantra* (device) should not be divulged; it should be protected from the officials till the time of its proper application. Thus runs the sentence—"*tasya* (*mantrasya*) *saṃvaraṇam—āyuktapuruṣarakṣaṇam ākāryakāladiti*" (I. 15). This leaves no doubt that *saṃvaraṇa* according to the author himself means *rakṣaṇa*, i.e., 'protection'.

Loka-yātrā: It speaks of the 'manner of life of the people', 'the way of the people' (cp. 'lokayātrāṃ pravāhaye', Rāmāyaṇa, II. 109. 27). *Yātrā* according to Vaijayantī means 'movement' as well as 'living' (*gamane jīvane yātrā*).

It is the business of the Trayī to lay down principles for the proper guidance of the people and thereby to organise an ideal society. In order to meet this end, it has devised the creed of *varnāśrama* which in its turn determines the avocations of the people on the basis of the caste system and also dictates duties for the four stages of life, called *āśramas*. In fact, it is the pivot of *loka-yātrā*. This is also corroborated by the following statement of Vātsyāyana: "*Varṇāśramasthitilakṣaṇatvācca lokayātrāyāḥ*" (Kāma-sūtra, II. 16).

Indeed, the contribution of Trayī in building up an ideal society is not negligible. Not only the orthodox traditionists but even a seasoned politician like Kauṭilya also does not hesitate to state that the world following the dictates of Trayī prospers and never decays. The reason is that it is Trayī which has safeguarded the status of the superior class;

secondly it has also established a social order on the basis of *varṇāśrama*. This is what is expressly stated in the following śloka occuring at the end of the next section :

vyavasthitāryamaryādaḥ kṛtavarṇāśramasthitiḥ,
Trayyā hi rakṣito lokaḥ prasīdati na sīdati.

The expression *Trayyā hi rakṣito lokaḥ* is significant. If we compare this with the previous statement *saṃvaraṇamātram hi Trayī*, it becomes clear that both Kauṭilya as well as the followers of Bṛhaspati declare in one voice that the main function of Trayī is to protect. But protection itself is not uniform in both the cases. According to Kauṭilya, Trayī protects the people at large whereas in the opinion of the followers of Bṛhaspati it protects a limited group of people who know the way of the world. And how this particular group is protected by Trayī will be explained below.

First of all, the attitude of Bṛhaspati towards the Vedas needs explanation. This is the question that naturally arises here. Elsewhere in a quotation we find that one Bṛhaspati makes it obligatory on the part of the king to pay due veneration to the Vedas and its auxiliaries. In his opinion, the king should be roused from his sleep by the sound of recitations of the Vedic hymns accompanied by the blowing of conch-shells and utterance of eulogies and auspicious expressions. This is not all. Getting up from the bed he should perform his morning prayer as usual and then pay obeissance to the gods, departed forefathers and the brāhmaṇas. This is what is expressed in the following quotation attributed to the said teacher by Viśvarūpācārya in his Commentary on the Yājñavalkya Smṛti: *tathā ca Bṛhaspatiḥ—brahma-śaṃkha-stuti-puṇyāha-śabdair vibudhyotthāya sandhyāmupāsya devapitṛbrāhmaṇān manasā vā namaskṛtya*, etc. (I. 323-Trivandrum Sanskrit Series). But it is doubtful whether this teacher is identical with the celebrated politician referred to by Kauṭilya. This is due to the fact that in another instance while speaking of the qualifications of the minister, he states that he (minister) must be of good parentage, pure in character, well-versed in the systems of Manu, Bṛahaspati and Uśanas, expert in the Science of Government, and so on. This is what is found in the following quotation: *Yathāha Bṛhaspatiḥ—.....ubhayata uttamavaṃśaprabhavaḥ śuddho*

Manu-Bṛhaspaty Uśanaḥ-śāstravid daṇḍanītyādikuśalah mantrī syāt (Yājñavalkya Smṛti, I.307). It is astonishing to notice here that Bṛhaspati himself referes to Bṛhaspati as an authority on the Science of Politics along with Manu and Uśanas. It can under no circumstances be taken as an instance of *iti Kauṭilyah* or *iti Gonardīyaḥ* where the same teacher refers to his own self in the third person. The expression *Manu-Bṛhaspaty Uśanaḥ-śāstravit* definitely suggests that Bṛhaspati as quoted by Viśvarūpācārya is different from the veteran politician referred to by Kauṭilya and other ancient authorities. However, it is not unlikely that at a later period some scholar belonging to the school of Bṛhaspati might have redacted the authentic text of that celebrated teacher in order to meet the requirements of the ordinary students just as the medical treatise of Agniveśa was done by Caraka. Most probably this is the cause of such discrepancy.

However, the view of Bṛhaspati as a teacher of Economics as well as Politics appears also in the Mahābhārata. In his opinion Vārttā is the mainstay of the people while Trayī only supports their ways of life. But all these can function properly when the state is protected by the king. This is what is stated by Bṛhaspati himself in the following śloka:

Vārttāmūlo hyayaṃ lokas Trayyā vai dhāryate sadā,
tat sarvaṃ vartate samyag yadā rakṣati bhūmipaḥ
(XII. 68.35).

From this it follows that Trayī has got no locus standi. In other words, it is only a superstructure having its basis upon the Vārttā. This is why it is not counted as a separate Science by the followers of Bṛhaspati. Whatever may be its face value, it is not, after all, indispensable for the economic and political uplift of the masses. Then what is its utility? In reply to this the following sarcastical remark proceeds from the followers of Bṛhaspati: *saṃvarana-mātraṃ hi Trayī Loka yātra-vida iti*—meaning thereby that Trayī is only a protection to him who knows the way of the world. Speaking more precisely, it has got very little intrinsic value of its own; it only serves the interest of the chosen few who know well how to manipulate the masses. The fact is that the sanctity of Trayī is deep-rooted in the mind of the common people and taking advantage of this weakness the intelligent class can easily tap them under the covering of Trayī. Indeed, Trayī is a *saṃvaraṇa*—a protection, a shield, a covering, an amulet for the superior class of people to exploit the illiterate masses. The reason of making such a slurring remark on the Trayī is not unusual on the part of the followers of Bṛhaspati who are after all materialists. They are styled as atheists by the orthodox scholars. According to their philosophy, three are the makers of the Vedas—of these one is a cheat, another is cunning and the other being a nocturnal wayfarer i.e., a thief. As it is stated: *trayo Vedasya kartāro bhaṇḍa-dhūrta-niśācarāḥ*. It is further stated that in the opinion of Bṛhaspati offering of oblations to the fire in the morning and the evening, the three Vedas, the ceremonial taking of the triple-rod, smearing the bodies with the ashes collected from the sacrificial altar—all these constitute the means of livelihood of the stupid and the coward. As it is stated:

> *agnihotram trayo Vedās tridaṇḍaṃ bhaṣma guṇṭhanaṃ,*
> *buddhi-paurūṣa-hīnānāṃ jīviketi Bṛhaspatiḥ.*

And Kauṭilya only puts the view of this school[3] in a balanced language.

Daṇḍanītir ekā vidyety' Auśanasāḥ, tasyāṃ hi sarvavidyārambhāḥ pratibaddhāḥ: Daṇḍanīti is the only Science according to the followers of Uśanas; pursuit of all other Sciences are bound up with it.

All the other branches of Science can flourish well when the political atmosphere is peaceful. But in the absence of any established government, initiatives in other Sciences are obstructed. This is why Politics is held to be the only basic Science by a section of scholars.

catasra eva Vidyā iti Kauṭilyaḥ: Four are the branches of Science—says Kauṭilya.

But elsewhere he emphatically states that Daṇḍanīti is the basis of the three other Sciences (*tasmad daṇḍamulās tisro vidyāḥ*, I. 5). He thus gives prominence to Politics while the remaining Sciences are to be regarded as its subsidiaries.

Tabhir dharmārthau yad vidyāt tad vidyānāṃ vidyātvam: By means of them *dharma* (moral and religious duties) and *artha* (material gain) are to be determined—herein lies the speciality of the Sciences.

From this statement it appears that Kauṭilya maintains both *dharma* and *artha* as the ends of life. Elsewhere *kāma* (attachment to worldly pleasures) also has been mentioned as an end. For he states finally that his treatise not only propagates *dharma*, *artha*, and *kāma* but also ensures their safety; and whatever brings out vice, unfavourable consequence and hatred is smashed by it:

> *dharmam artham ca kāmam ca pravartayati pāti ca,*
> *adharmānarthavidveṣān idam śāstram nihanti ca.*

Of these three ends, *dharma* comprises those duties which are sanctioned by the Vedas and their auxiliaries. *Artha* generally means 'wealth', but in its wider connotation it also means 'the earth'. Otherwise Arthaśāstra itself will necessarily fall within the province of Economics—a view which should not be maintained at any rate. From the politician's point of view the term *artha* means 'existence of man'. In other words, it means 'the earth where man lives'. And the Science which lays down principles for the acquisition of the earth and its government is called Arthaśāstra. Thus states Kauṭilya at the beginning of the fifteenth adhikaraṇa: *manuṣyāṇāṃ vṛttir arthaḥ, manuṣyavatī bhūmir ityarthaḥ; tasyāḥ pṛthivyā lābhapālanopāyaḥ śāstram Arthaśāstram iti*: *Kāma* comprises sensual pleasures. However, in the opinion of Kauṭilya it is *artha* which is the principal end of life, because it is the source of the two other ends. If *artha* is finally established, all other ends will automatically follow suit. This is why he states with all the emphasis at his command: *artha eva pradhānam iti Kauṭilyaḥ, arthamūlau dharma-kāmāviti* (I.7). Such a view is also expressed in the Mahābhārata where it is stated that *dharma* and *kāma* are the components of *artha* (*arthasyāvayavāvetau dharma-kāmāviti śrutiḥ*—XII. 167.13).

But such a view cannot be entertained by the teachers of Dharmaśāstra. To them *dharma* is be-all and end-all of life; under no circumstances it should be held as subservient to any other end. This is why Manu states that "knowledge of *dharma* is meant for those who do not hanker after material gain and worldly pleasures" (II, 13). In case of any conflict between *dharma* and *artha*, the former should be always preferred. As it is expressly stated by Yājñavalkya that the dictates of the Dharmaśāstra are stronger than those of the Arthaśāstra (II. 21). Indeed the respective spheres of *dharma* and *artha* are quite different. *Dharma* strives for the attainment of something whose harvest is to be reaped in the next life, while *artha* does so for the present. *Artha*, according to the teachers of Dharmaśāstra, can be regarded as an end only when it acts in close cooperation with *dharma*.

However, Kauṭilya is not apparently reluctant to have his doctrines marked by the stamp of *dharma* so long as the latter does not go against his political interest. This is why we find him paying high tribute to the Vedas and specially to the creed of *varṇāśrama* inasmuch as the latter not only serves the interest of religion but also that of politics, because it has contributed considerably to the establishment of local self-government in ancient India. But from internal evidence his sincerety to *dharma* appears to be questionable. Whenever there is any conflict between *dharma* and *artha*, he does not hesitate to give his verdict in favour of *artha*. To him it is political interest which is paramount. As a result of this, moral and religious values have been undermined in numerous instances. Really speaking, as a politician he does not always recognise *dharma* as an end in itself; it is only a means to some end. In fact, it is nothing but a peg behind the politician's interest. This will be evident from the following fact. For instance, in one place he explicitly states that belief in the next life is one of the hindrances to the attainment of material gain (*lābha-bighnāḥ.....paralokāpekṣā*, IX. 4). Similar is the case with the performances of the rituals during the auspicious lunar days and under favourable stars (*maṅgala-tithinakṣatreṣṭitvam*). This is why he states that "material gain does not favour the fool who is always after the consultation of the stars. The end itself is its own star. What else will the stars avail" (IX. 4)? This is a serious blow to the view of Yājñavalkya who in his Smṛti strongly recommends the worship of the planets; because in his opinion rise and fall of the kings is dependent on them (I. 307).

All these constitute only a general view of his antagonistic attitude towards the religious codes. He openly encourages such foul practices as cannot be sanctioned from the moral and religious point of view. Instances of wholesale confiscation of properties under various pretexts even of the religious bodies are not uncommon in his text. In one place he boldly suggests that whenever the king is in financial stringency, his superintendent of the temples should collect in one place all the treasures belonging to the different deities whether installed inside the fortified cities or within the country parts and then hand over the same to the king (*devatādhyakṣo durgarāṣṭradevatānāṃ yathāsvaṃ ekasthaṃ kośaṃ kuryāt, tathaiva cāharet*, V. 2). Is it not an instance of forcible seizure of properties belonging to the religious institutions? This is not all. When the king is under the grip of some powerful enemy, he is advised to adopt such tactics as are highly reprehensible, both from ethical as well as religious point of view. For instance, he should contrive to kill his enemies even inside the temples where they occasionally congregate as pilgrims, and what to speak of other places. The policy to be adopted in such cases is as follows. Some mechanical device should be previously arranged so that the portions of the roof of the temple or its wall may suddenly collapse when those people assemble there for the purpose of worshipping the deities installed therein. Further, the weapons of the deities also should be hurled upon them in order to bring out their annihilation, and so on (XII. 5). Then again, with a view to assassinate his enemy, he is advised to lay himself concealed in a hole bored within the body of some deity or in an underground room beneath a temple and should come out at the opportune moment to play the foul game. Indeed, Kauṭilya as a politician does not hesitate to advise the king to utilise even the temples and the hollow places within the bodies of the big idols of gods and goddesses as the hiding places for conducting guerilla warfare. Most heinous crime is advised to perpetrate by arranging general feasts on the occasion of worshipping the deities or in honour of his deceased forefathers or during any other religious festival so that his enemies also may congregate there under honest faith, and availing of this opportunity his spies should not hesitate to serve them with poisonous food and drinks (*daivata-śrāddha-prahavaneṣu vā rasabiddham annapānam avasṛjya*...XII. 5).

Should all these be counted as instances of righteousness? Still Kauṭilya states that material gain attended with *dharma* is the ultimate end of life. This is why Bāṇa Bhaṭṭa in his Kādambarī mercilessly criticises those kings to whom the Arthaśāstra of Kauṭilya which is ruthless in its precepts and rich in the practice of cruelty is an authority (*kiṃ vā teṣām asāmpratam yeṣām atinṛśaṃsaprāyopadeśa-nirghṛṇam Kauṭilya-śāstraṃ pramāṇam...*—Śukanāsa's advice to Candrāpīḍa). Briefly speaking, Kauṭilya is an advocate of the Machiavellian policy where moral and religious laws are subordinated to political expediency. According to his philosophy, the course of moral and religious duties may, however, be pursued provided the political interest be not jeopardised thereby even to the least possible extent.

Śāṃkhyaṃ Yogo Lokāyataṃ cety' Ānvīkṣikī: Ānvīkṣikī or the Science of Reasoning comprises the Sāṃkhya, Yoga and the Lokāyata systems of thought.

Those systems of thought whose principal catagories and doctrines are based upon inference are called Ānvīkṣikīs. Inferential knowledge again cannot be possible without syllogistic reasoning. This is why Ānvīkṣikī is called the Science of Reasoning. The Sāṃkhya system is stated as such because the validity of its principal categories and doctrines are established by inference. In fact, dogmatic speculations have got very little place in this system of thought. For instance, its conception of *prakṛti* as the primordial stuff is absolutely based upon inference. This is further corroborated by the evidence of an ancient authority like Bādarāyaṇa, the author of the Brahmasūtra, who in course of criticising the Sāṃkhya view of creation states that the *prakṛti* of Sāṃkhya cannot be held to be the ultimate cause of the universe because the principle of creation cannot be explained on the basis of such an assumption. Thus he states : *racanānupapattes ca nānumānam* (II. ii. 1). The term *anumāna* as occurs in this sūtra clearly speaks of the fact that Sāṃkhya was famous for its rationalistic interpretation even before the time of the author of the Brahmasūtra. Similarly, its doctrine of causation which seeks to establish the fact that the cause is immanent in the effect, its theory of the *guṇas*—all these are exclusively based upon reasoning. Like Vedānta, it is not found to quote the Vedic and the Upaniṣadic passages in support of its own view. This system is very old. In the Buddhacarita of Aśvaghoṣa, it is stated that even Aḍāra Kālāma, the teacher of the Buddha, belonged to the order of the Sāṃkhya. Unfortunately, not even a single systematic treatise of this school written by any ancient authority has come down to us. However, explicit mention of this system as Ānvīksikī is made in the Bhāgavata Purāṇa (III. 25. 4).

Sāṃkhya and Yoga are generally regarded as allied systems of thought. As it is stated in the Gītā—"Sāṃkhya and Yoga are treated as separate systems by the fools and not by the wise". Then why does Kauṭilya enumerate them separately as if they constitute two different systems of thought ? He could have easily included Yoga within Sāṃkhya. This tends to suggest that Yoga has got here a different meaning of its own. Important light in this connection is, however, shed by Vātsyāyana in his Nyāya-bhāṣya. According to the Nyāyasūtra of Gautama, the doctrine which is maintained by a particular school of philosophy but not recognised by any other school is called *pratitantra-siddhānta* (I. i. 29). This is further explained by Vātsyāyana by way of illustration. He points out the fact that the following constitute the special doctrines of Sāṃkhya:—a non-entity can never come into existence, nor can an entity lose its existence, and so on (*yathā nāsata ātmalābhaḥ, na sata ātmahānaṃ . . . iti Sāṃkhyānām*) while those of Yoga are as follow:—. . . the individuals are endowed with their specific qualities; an entity which did not exist previously is produced and whatever is produced is subjected to destruction (*. . . svaguṇaviśiṣṭās cetanāḥ; asadutpadyate utpannaṃ nirudhyate iti Yogānām*). Evidently, the doctrines which are ascribed here to Yoga are diametrically opposed to those of Sāṃkhya. In fact, Yoga here refers to the Vaiśeṣika system of thought. Similarly, Uddyotakara also in his Nyāya-vārttika explicitly states in this connection that the sense-organs, according to Yoga, are the products of the elements, while according to Sāṃkhya these are never held to be emanating from the elements (*yathā-bhautikāni indriyāṇi iti Yogānām, abhautikāni iti Sāṃkhyānām*). Here also Yoga clearly speaks of the Vaiśeṣika view. This is not all. In his Naya-viveka, Bhavanātha also does not differentiate Yoga from Vaiśeṣika (I. i. 2, p. 57). This teacher, as it is well known, is an exponent of the Prabhākara school of Mīmāṃsā. Besides these, some of the Jaina philosophers also make no distinction between Yoga and Vaiśeṣika. What is the reason of calling the Vaiśeṣikas as Yogas? This is the question that naturally arises here. In my opinion they are styled as such because of the fact that they try to explain creation by means of *yoga* or combination of atoms.

This discussion on Yoga will naturally invalidate the assumption of Jacobi who maintains that Vaiśeṣika is not mentioned by Kauṭilya because it did not exist in his time as an independent system of thought. However, tenets and doctrines peculiar to the Vaiśeṣika system are to be met with here and there even in the Mahābhāṣya of Patañjali.

The Lokāyata, i.e., the philosophy of Cārvāka is highly appealing to the mind of the masses, and because of this wide popularity this particular system has assumed such a nomenclature. The upholders of this school of thought declare in one voice that preference should always be given to what is easily accessible; they do not recognise the future life which is uncertain. One of their favourite tenets is that even a pigeon which is available today is better than a peacock of tomorrow (*varam adyaḥ kapotaḥ śvo mayūrāt*—Vatsyāyana's Kāmasūtra, chapter II). In this way they have evolved a practical philosophy of life. They are styled as atheists in the orthodox circle because they have no faith in the existence of after-life nor do they admit of the authenticity of the Vedas. The fact that their method of argument is affiliated to Ānvīkṣikī is also confirmed by the great epic like the Rāmāyaṇa (II. 100.39). Further, it is strange to notice that even an enlightened personality like Jābāli, the brāhmiṇ minister of Daśaratha, was an advocate of this system of thought. This becomes evident from his dialogue with Rāma. After the death of Daśaratha, this minister in company with Bharata approached Rāma in Citrakūṭa and tried to pursuade him to go back to Ayodhyā. But Rāma was adament; he was not prepared to discard his forest life. The promise of his revered father must be fulfilled at any cost. He cannot deviate from the path of righteousness and thereby drag his departed father to the hell. The counter argument that proceeds from Jābāli at this stage from the standpoint of Lokāyata is really impressive to the modern mind. Thus Jābāli addresses Rāma—"The king has followed the way as it is usual with all other creatures. But you should not thereby discard manliness befitting a monarch. I pity those who disregarding political interest are exclusively devoted to the dictates of the scriptures. They suffer in this world and finally meet with extinction. People are found to follow the traditions of offering *aṣṭakā-śrāddha* in honour of their ancestors. Behold the accumlation of edibles. What will a dead person eat? If food partaken by one can be transferred to the body of another, one should offer *śrāddha* to those who are going to distant lands. But that does not actually serve for their food in the course of their journey. The scriptural injunctions like 'observe rites', 'make offerings', 'be initiated', 'practise austerities' and 'renounce'—all these are manufactured by intelligent persons with a view to induce the common people to be charitable. Oh magnanimous one, be assured that there is no after-life. Be grounded on what is evident, and turn your back towards what is beyond perception. Following the precepts of the wise, approved by all and propitiated by Bharata, you do accept monarchy".

Some of the *ślokas* uttered by Jābāli in this connection are quoted below for the perusal of scholars:

aṣṭakādi pitṛdaivatyam ityayaṃ prasṛto janaḥ,
annasyopadravaṃ nityaṃ mṛto hi kim aśiṣyati.

yadi bhuktam ihānyena deham anyasya gacchati,
dadyāt pravasatāṃ śrāddhaṃ na tat pathyaśanaṃ bhavet.

dāna-saṃvananā hyete granthā medhāvibhiḥ kṛtā
yajasva dehi dīkṣvasva tapas tapyasva samtyaja.

sa nāsti param ityetat kuru buddhiṃ mahāmate,
pratyakṣaṃ yat tadātiṣṭha parokṣaṃ pṛṣṭhataḥ kuru.

(Rāmāyaṇa, II. 108. 13-16)

Dharmādharmau Trayyām, arthānarthau Vārttāyam, nayāpanayau Daṇḍanītyām: Merit and demerit are treated in the Trayī, wealth and adversity in the Vārttā, expediency and inexpediency in the Daṇḍanīti.

Trayī here speaks of the Vedas as well as their auxiliaries.

These authoritative texts urge the people to perform those duties which are sanctioned by them and refrain from those which are not sanctioned. Those who follow their dictates acquire merit and those who violate them acquire demerit. Merit and demerit are usually fruitioned in the next life.

Here the term *artha* with reference to Vārttā means 'wealth' and not any other political end. *Naya* means 'expediency', 'strategy'. It follows from the pursuit of some wise policy. *Apanaya* speaks of any disaster which results from the lack of strategy. It should not be confused with *anaya* which refers to any mishap upon which man has got no control (Arthaśāstra—VI. 2).

Balābale caitāsām hetubhir anvīkṣamānā Ānvīkṣikī lokasyopakaroti, vyasane abhyudaye ca buddhim avasthāpayati, prajñāvākyakriyāvaiśāradyaṃ ca karoti: Ānvīkṣikī in its turn examines the validity and invalidity of the (precepts) of the other Sciences by means of reasonings; and as such it becomes beneficial to the people because it keeps the mind unperturbed in adversity as well as in prosperity, and further it develops wisdom, power of expression and skill in activity.

Vātsyāyana in his Nyāyabhāṣya has suggested the following etymological meaning of the term *Ānvīkṣikī*: *pratyakṣāgamābhyām īkṣitasya anvikṣaṇam anvīkṣā, tayā pravartate ity' Anvīkṣikī Nyāyavidyā Nyāyaśāstram* (I. i. 1). The term is derived from *anvīkṣā* which means 'examination', 'investigation', inasmuch as it reviews a proposition previously cognised through perception and verbal testimony. And the science that proceeds from such investigations is called Ānvīkṣikī, i.e., 'the Science of Reasoning'.

pradīpaḥ sarvavidyānām upāyaḥ sarvakarmaṇām,
āśrayaḥ sarvadharmāṇām śaśvad' Ānvīkṣikī matā.

Ānvīkṣikī is always held to be the light to all other Sciences, the means of all enterprises and the basis of all creeds and faiths.

Ānvīkṣikī enlightens all other Sciences because it seeks to offer a rationalistic interpretation of their tenets and doctrines. The other Sciences only lay down rules and principles to be followed by their adherents, but those cannot be given any practical shape unless their feasibility be determined beforehand by means of Ānvīkṣikī. This is why it is regarded as instrumental in all kinds of enterprises. *Aśrayaḥ sarvadharmāṇām: Dharma* according to the orthodox view speaks of some moral and religious duties which are mandatory upon the people. The Vedic injunctions incite the people to discharge these duties so that they may ultimately attain heavenly bliss. But as a matter of fact there are apparent contradictions, discrepancies and anomalies even in the statement of the Vedas. Similar is the case with the precepts of the other faiths. And it is Āṇvīkṣikī which solves them and determines the right course of duty. So it is stated to be the basis of all creeds and faiths.

This couplet also finds its place in the Nyāyabhāṣya of Vātsyāyana with some alterations in reading (I. i. 1). This has been explained by Uddyotakara and Vācaspati Miśra in their commentaries to suit their own purpose. One thing is to be noticed in this connection that the exponents of Nyāya maintain that Ānvīkṣikī is the supreme Science and that it exclusively comprises their own system and not any other else. Kauṭilya mentions it to be a separate Science and holds it indispensable for the study of all other Sciences. But unlike the exponents of Nyāya, he extends the jurisdiction of this Science. As has been stated above, in his opinion it comprises Sāṃkhya, Yoga, i.e., Vaiśeṣika and even Lokāyata or the sceptic philosophy of Cārvāka. He does not mention Nyāya. Perhaps it did not exist at his time as an independent system of thought.

Here ends the section entitled *Ānvīkṣikī-sṭhāpanā.*

References

1. *Udīcām māṅo vyatīhāre,* III. 4.19. Also see *apamitya-yācitābhyām kak-kanau,*
IV. 4. 21 where Jayāditya in his Kāśikā furnished the forms *āpamityakam*
and *yācitakam* as illustrations. It is also to be observed that the term *pramitya* is
not read in the sūtra along with *apamitya* and *yācita* indicating thereby that the
form *prāmityakam* is not recognised by Pāṇini.

2. See Kṣīrasvāmin on Amara II. 9.4—*Munis tu "nimayaḥ parivartaḥ syād-*
uddhāropyāpa mityakaḥ" while Amara himself following Pāṇini states "*Yācñ-*
ayāptam yācitakam nimayād āpamityakam." It is needless to state here that *nimaya* of
the lexicographers does not essentially differ from *vinimaya* i.e., 'barter'.

3. According to the materialistic school of Bṛhaspati, Daṇḍanīti is the only
Science and Vārttā is to be included within it—*jānāsi Daṇḍanītir eva Vidyā*
atraiva Vārttā antarbhavati, Prabodha-candrodaya, Act II.

THE BIBLE, CHAPATI AND THE GREASED CARTRIDGE

P. C. Gupta

Sir John Kaye thought that the Mutiny of 1857 was largely the result of the policy followed by the East India Company. "It was in the over-eager pursuit of Humanity and Civilisation that Indian statesmen of the new school were betrayed into the excesses which have been so grievously visited upon the nation."[1] One wonders whether the social and material changes in the first half of the nineteenth century had much to do with the outbreak of 1857, and whether their effects had not always been somewhat exaggerated.

It is not fair to imagine that India had resented the introduction of foreign ideas more than any other country. Education was naturally restricted to a small percentage of the people, but there had been an eagerness to assimilate the new learning. There was nothing very extraordinary about it. In the eighteenth century an educated person was expected to have some knowledge of Persian. The Brahmin's love for Persian literature was a subject for comment in contemporary poetry. In the nineteenth century as the Company's power extended, Persian was gradually supplanted by English. Schools which imparted English education were established long before 1857 not only by European missionaries and also by Indians and these institutions became more popular than those known as vernacular schools. In missionary schools and colleges the Bible was universally taught. This did not in any way injure the popularity of such institutions. In the school established by Jaynarayan Ghosal at Banaras, the Bible was studied.[2] At the request of the Reverend Carshore of Kanpur, Baji Rao's *dewan* Ramchandra Pant established a school at Bithur for imparting English education. "At present the boys in it are but few, in fact, none but his own sons and those of his near kindred". But the Reverend hoped "as the school is under my superintendence others in time be admitted". It is not said whether the Bible was taught there, but it seems very likely. The Reverend Carshore visited Baji Rao's palace in 1834 and preached there. He thought that the "Mahrattas of Bajee Rao's camp" were "well pleased with the Sermon on the Mount" and even the next year their enthusiasm had not decreased for "two hundred copies were disposed of in the space of half an hour".[3] It is difficult to say whether the enthusiasm of the Marathas was really due to the preaching of the Reverend Carshore or whether Baji Rao and his followers decided to be prudent and were polite to what the missionary had to say.

The early universities in India, in Calcutta, Bombay and Madras, came as a result of popular demand and were not imposed by the government. In 1845, when the proposal for the foundation of a university was first made, the Directors of the East India Company thought that the time was not yet ripe. It was considered necessary to issue a warning to the Indian people not to neglect one's own language. The education despatch of 1854 regretted "the tendency of the people in some parts of India, more especially in the immediate vicinity of the presidency towns" to aim at "a very moderate proficiency in the English language" and "to neglect the study of the vernacular languages".[4]

There were occasions when the young learner wanted to forsake his own faith and adopt Christianity. But such cases were few. Early in the century the preaching of the missionaries was more often looked upon with curiosity and amusement than hostility. By the middle of the nineteenth century, however, the over-zealousness of some of the missionaries and preaching officers caused embarassment to the government. At Fatehpur, in the North-Western Provinces, prisoners undergoing terms of imprisonment were instructed in Christian religion, and *patwaris* who were required to learn the *nagari* script for their official work were sent to missionary schools where they received lessons in Christianity as well. When universities were established in India a few months before the outbreak of 1857, it was laid down that education in government institutions should be "exclusively secular". The Senate of the University of Calcutta adopted the principle that no questions would be asked requiring "an expression of religious belief" of the student. This did not please the missionaries. They complained that "heavenly wisdom" was being excluded from the schools. Even a man like Alexander Duff was not in favour of the government's policy. He hoped that a time would come when "all men in India would be equal under the shadow of the same religious faith".[5]

In March 1857, a Delhi newspaper wrote, "the notion that natives of India are inseparably prejudiced against missionary schools seems in the present day little better than a myth. Although the Bible is invariably made a class book yet not only Hindoos of all castes, but even Mohamadans are to be found among the scholars".[6] The missionary schools probably remained popular even two months before the Mutiny but there were factors which disturbed the public mind and the comments in the newspapers were inadequate to combat the prevailing suspicion.

The abolition of the *sati* rite and the passing of the Widow Remarriage Bill must have shocked the orthodox school. But the measures were by no means universally unpopular. The government had the support of a small but powerful section of the people and some influential leaders of public opinion. In the first case, the government had taken the precaution of securing the sanction of the priests, and in the second their cause was taken up by a very distinguished educationist in Bengal. Iswar Chandra Vidyasagar did not possess the influence of his predecessor, Raja Ram Mohun Roy. But for the support of an unpopular cause, no social stigma attached to his name. Except for a brief spell, when the agitation was at its highest he never suffered in popularity. The literature, in some parts of India, expressed a sense of admiration and wonder at the changes introduced by Science. One wonders if the story of the conflict between western ideas and science and the Indian mind has not been always a little over-emphasized.

Whatever the people felt at the reforming zeal of the East

India Company's government or the disgruntled chiefs thought of Lord Dalhousie's measures, the outbreak of 1857 would not have taken place but for the unrest of the sepoys. From the beginning of 1857 the sepoy army in northern India began to show signs of alarm and disaffection. It was about the same time that chapatis and lotuses were said to have been distributed over a large area in northern India. It is difficult to say whether there was a connection between the two and whether the distribution of chapatis and lotuses should be regarded as a signal for a general rising. An account published shortly after the outbreak blamed the government for its failure to understand the significance of the "mysterious cakes and lotus flowers". It narrated that the *chaukidars* or village policemen at Kanpur "ran up to another at Fatehgarh and gave him two chapatis" and "directed him to make ten more and give two to each" of the five *chaukidars* with the same instructions". The result was that "in a few hours the whole country was labouring under commotion with *chaukidars* running about with these cakes. The waves swept province after province with a speed at which official orders never fly".[7] There is also a similar description of "the circulation of a lotus flower among the regiments of the Bengal army". A man "appeared with a lotus flower and handed it to the chief of the Regiment. He handed it on to another . . . and when it came to the last soldier of a regiment, he suddenly disappeared and took it on to the next station. There was not, it appears, a single regiment, not a detachment, not a station in Bengal through which the lotus flower was not thus circulated; and all this took place just after the annexation of Oudh".[8]

This popular account of the distribution of the chapatis and the lotuses should be a little modified. It was not as thorough and quick as one might infer from the description. The lotus is a very tender flower; it would be difficult to circulate it from one person to another and from one regiment to the next. It did not grow everywhere the Bengal army was stationed. It is a seasonal flower and blossoms in autumn, and certainly not in February when Oudh was annexed. No army officer seems to have come across an instance of actual circulation of a lotus, and it does not seem to have been mentioned in official records.

The source to which the author of this work is indebted for this story appears to be a report in a newspaper published from Serampore near Calcutta. This is one of the earliest accounts of the distribution of the chapatis. The *Friend of India* wrote on 5th March 1857: "One morning towards the end of the last month the officials of Futtehgurh were in commotion. From *thannah* after *thannah* there arrived little chapatties about two inches in diameter. They were accompained by all kinds of reports by puzzled thanadars. . . It appeared that a few evenings previous a chaukidar from Cawnpore ordered a chaukidar in Futtehgurh to make and bake twelve chupatties . . . Two he was to retain. Two more were to be given to each of the five nearest chowkidars. The order was obeyed and all night long there was running and baking of chupatties. The five obeyed orders also and distributed their message to twenty five, and so the affair went on, in geometrical ratio the cakes sweeping over the district at a speed which no Indian post yet travels". The phenomenon was observed by some officers in the districts. In January 1857, Captain Keating noticed at Nimar in Central Provinces "a general distribution of small cakes which were passed on from village to village." These were distributed at Mandleshwar near Indore on 12th January and reached Bajenagar after three weeks.[9] Major Erskine, Commissioner of Sagor and Narbada territories reported to the government of "small wheaten cakes" passing "in a most mysterious manner" from one village to another.[10] Thornhill, the collector of Mathura, noticed it in the beginning of the year. One morning, about the end of January, as he entered his office he found four small chapatis on his table, "dirty little cakes of the coarsest flour, about the size and thickness of a biscuit".[11] Captain Lloyd reported that chapatis were being distributed in Nimach from February or early in March. He was unable to find out how it entered his district, but he believed it might have come from the south and the east.[12]

There was, however, no unanimity as to where this practice originated. Edwards, judge of Benares, believed that "Barrackpore was the starting point" and the chapatis had entered his station from the neighbouring district of Shahjahanpur.[13] Theophilus Metcalfe of Delhi thought that the chapatis originated at Lucknow and "spread through only five villages of Delhi territory" when the circulation was stopped by the government, and they never travelled further north. Chuni, a news writer in Delhi, stated that these came to the city from Karnal and Panipat.[14]

Regarding the object of the circulation of lotus and chapati nothing definite was known but various suggestions were offered. A contemporary writer considered that as the lotus is always associated with the Buddhist religion, it was a call to the Buddhists to rise against British rule.[15] The explanation, of what was called the chapati mystery, was not so wild, but it did not help one to come to a conclusion. Thornhill did not know what the chapati signified; "after being a nine days' wonder the matter ceased to be talked about".[16] Circulation of similar objects was not quite unknown in India, and Chick believed that there must be some innocent explanation for the practice. He suggested that enquiries made at the time pointed to "some superstition connected with the previous sickly season as the most probable origin of the strange precedence."[17] The *Friend of India* considered the explanations but did not know whether to take the circulation of the chapatis seriously. It wondered whether all the chaukidars were "about to strike for wages", or whether anybody was "trying a new scheme for a parcel dawk ?... Is it a treason or a jest?... Is the chaupatty a fiery cross or only an indigestible edible, a cause of revolt or only of the colic?" It might have been the "consequence of a vow made by some policemen aided by the intense ignorance" which "distinguished that force". "The police" it was suggested "ought to be prohibited from transmitting signals not authorised by a European".[18]

During Bahadur Shah's trial in Delhi, questions were asked about the significance of the chapatis. One witness, a newswriter by profession, stated that it was taken by some newspapers as a forecast of some "coming disturbance" and an invitation "to unite for some secret object".[19]

Another witness, named Jitmal, who belonged to the same profession, thought that there were various other explanations.

It could be a "propitiatory observance" for averting some calamity. Some, however, believed that the chapatis were being circulated by the government and signified that everybody should be compelled to "use the same food as the Christians and thus deprived of their religion". It was a warning that the government was "determined to force Christianity on the people by interfering with their food".[20]

Before the Vellore Mutiny in 1806, there had been similar distribution of chapatis, but the practice was not unknown at the time of pestilence. Captain Lloyd mentioned in a Delhi newspaper that it might have originated from "a superstitious idea of allaying or preventing the ravages of diseases such as cholera, by a general distribution of cakes". He also mentioned that chapatis were sent about for feeding the village dogs during a cholera epidemic in his district in 1854.[21] A similar practice was also current in earlier times. On the 24th March 1857, the *Delhi Gazetteer* published a letter from a reader drawing attention to a paragraph in Malcolm's *Memoirs of India* about the circulation of cocoanuts in 1818. "The war with the Pandarries was over (1818) and the country was in a state of tolerable tranquility, when a sudden agitation is produced among the peacable inhabitants; a number of cocoanuts are passed from village to village, with a direction to speed them to a specific destination (usually to the chief local authority). From beyond Jeypore (north) to the Deccan (south) and from Gujerat to the territories of Bhopal, this signal flew to unheard of celerity. The Patels of every village, where the cocoanuts came, carried them himself with breathless haste to another, to avert the curse which was denounced on all who impeded or stopped them for a moment". This occurance, however, was not followed by any incident. An enquiry was started by the government yielding no result.

The historians of the Mutiny of 1857 had no better luck. Kaye was not sure what the distribution of the chapatis signified. But he observed that wherever the chapatis travelled they gave rise to "new excitements" and raised "vague expectations".[22] Theophilus Metcalfe, however, thought the "meaning of the chapatis was not understood in the Delhi district". But it would be "clearly an error" to think it was a superstitious attempt to some prevailing sickness in the neighbourhood, for the chapatis were "never sent to any native state but confined only to government villages". Metcalfe sent for the men "who had brought them from the district of Bulandshahr" and their apology was that they believed it to be done by order of the English Government. He considerd that they were "no doubt meant to sound a note of alarm and preparation giving warning to the people to stand by one another on any danger menacing them".[23] Munshi Mohonlal believed that there was some connection between the chapati and the outbreak. Asked in November 1857, whether he understood the significance of the distribution of the chapati, Mohonlal replied that "it had a great deal to do with the present mutiny and rebellion". Its "principal object" was to find how quickly one "could promulgate sedition throughout the country".[24]

Towards the end of 1857, it was generally accepted that the chapati was connected with the outbreak and Mohonlal repeated what was then a popular belief. Similar practice, however, was observed to continue even after the Mutiny was suppressed. A newspaper reported in June 1862, that the "custom of sending chupaties or cakes from village to village which preceded the Mutiny" had been "revived in some districts again". The same newspaper published in September the news that dolls and children's clothes were being circulated in South India.[25]

It is difficult to prove if the chapatis had any connection with the Mutiny. But it is probably safe to say that the outbreak of 1857 would not have taken place but for the greased cartridge. There were some senior officers in the army who thought that the Bengal army was coaxed and flattered and that there was a lamentable lack of discipline in the army. "The ordinary state of the Bengal army" Jacob wrote, was such "as must appear to an officer of the Royal or of Bombay army to be a state of *mutiny*". In Bombay the practice of the European officers was "to make the Hindoo soldiers, —instead of as in Bengal, the sepoys making the European officers half Hindoos". Jacob had a poor opinion of the European officers in Bengal and he lamented their adoption of native habits". He wrote in 1850, "there is more danger to our Indian Empire from the state of the Bengal Army, from the feeling there exists between the Native and the European... than all other causes combined".[26] But he had never imagined that a large scale mutiny of the sepoy army would ever take place. Three years before the Mutiny he wrote, "I deny the possibility of the Sepoys mutinying while their English officers are alive and do their duty".[27]

It is unfortunate that senior army officers did not always realize that the sepoys were not mere effective weapons of war; as private individuals they might have some real reasons to be aggrieved. In March 1857, the Commander-in-Chief of the Madras army referred in a minute to "a widespread feeling of sullen disaffection" among the sepoys". "The loyalty and fidelity of the Native troops have been often severely tried and triumphantly withstood temptation but human endurance has a limit and I emphatically warn the Government that the limit has been reached in the army".[28] Much of what the Commander-in-Chief said about the Madras army would apply to the Bengal army also. Constant and unceasing duty, lack of old European officers in whom the sepoys had confidence and the presence of young and inexperienced officers who were strangers to this country, were some of the ills from which every army suffered. While discussing the causes of the Mutiny, Munshi Mohonlal said that the chief reason why the government was unpopular with the "respectable and influential people" was "the distant contemptible [contemtuous] manner" with which they were "treated by the generality of English gentlemen".[29] Almost the same thing was said of the young officers of the Bengal army by Subedar Sitaram: "I always was good friends with the English soldiery, and they formerly used to treat the sepoys with great kindness...these soldiers are a different caste now—neither so fine nor so tall as they were; they seldom can speak one word of our language, except abuse...The 17th Foot called us *bahies*, the 16th Lancers never walked near our *chulas*, nor spat on our food".[30]

It was not only the young officers who knew very little and cared less for the suceptibilities of the sepoys. Some senior officers also knew no better. It was considered possible to carry on one's duty long and zealously with the happiest effects without the knowledge of any Indian language. General Jacob took pride in the fact that though he was "tolerably acquainted with the natives of India", with whom he had passed the best part of his life, he had not passed in any language and could not read "even the *Bagh-o-Bahar*".[31]

Jacob, however, believed that it would be injudicious for the government to identify itself with the preaching of the missionaries. A "State Religion in India" was "absolutely incompatible with the security" of the British empire. The "interference of Government or members of the Government in the official capacities. . .to countenance or sanction the endeavours of missionaries, or any other minister of religion" was "fraught with evil".[32] Colonel S. G. Wheler of the 34th Native Infantry, one of the regiments which revolted early in the Mutiny, regarded himself as "the happy instrument of converting his neighbour to God" and rescuing him "from eternal destruction". He considered it his primary duty to distribute christian tracts as the army marched, and took pride in the fact that he had sown the seeds of Christianity in some parts of the country years before any missionary was likely to set his foot there.[33] About three weeks before the outbreak at Meerut a correspondent wrote in the *Delhi Gazette*, "the duties of an Asiatic officer and Missionary are incompatible. . . When any officer from sincere religious conviction is unable to refrain from taking advantage of his position to disseminate in the smallest degree by his own personal agency, except amongst his own co-religionists, any of the grand truths of Christianity, then let him take the honest course, resign his commission and devote himself to the labours of a Missionary life". Another correspondent suggested that as officers "on entering the service take an oath not to interfere with the religion of the natives," the officer commanding the 34th "should have been tried for acting at variance with his oath".[34]

Colonel Wheler's preaching by itself would not have led to any disturbances. He was not exactly popular with his men. But the sepoy had his sense of humour. To them he was probably one of those cranky individuals whom it was one's fate to come across occasionally in service. There were, however, other disturbing factors. The sepoy had always resented what appeared to him as attacks on his religious beliefs. The leather cockade, the interference with his caste mark, the order to trim his beard and moustaches, and the order to cross the sea caused him discontent and anger. Their temper was not to be restored by the conduct of the preaching Colonels and half-missionary officials. He was not very much politically conscious, but he felt that the subaltern newly arrived from Europe was a more precious object to the government than the veteran sepoy who had spent all his life in the Company's service. The fate of the Nawab of Oudh created a belief that you could not trust the Company to keep faith with its friends. When the story of the greased cartridges began to spread, all these pieced together into a definite pattern.

"Revolutions", said Disraeli in Parliament, "are not made with grease". It was, however, the direct and immediate cause of the outbreak of 1857. The story of introducing greased cartridges may be traced back to 1853 when the Board of Ordnance desired to test the greased cartridge for the use of the new rifles. The Secretary of the Military Board was directed to cause cartridges of the requisite description to be prepared for trial. A supply of thirty-six casks of greased cartridges arrived from England in 1854. The result of the experiment was evidently satisfactory and in 1856 it was decided to introduce Enfield rifles and greased cartridges in India for the use of the sepoys. Training centres were set up at Dum Dum, Sialkot and Ambala. In the same year, ready-made greased cartridges were sent from England for the use of Her Majesty's 60th Regiment which was then the only corps armed with Enfield rifles. Cartridges also were being manufactured at Fort William for the use of the training school at Dum Dum. It was in January the following year that the authorities learnt that there had been some excitement. The sepoys at Dum Dum suspected that the cartridges were greased with obnoxious tallow, made of cow's and pig's fat. They were, however, assured by one of their officers, Lt, Wright, that the grease used was innocent and "composed of mutton fat and wax". A government order was also issued permitting the sepoys to prepare and procure their own lubricants.[35] Lt. Wright no doubt believed in what he said to his men. But the government was not so certain. Colonel Abbot, the Inspector-General of Ordnance and Magazine, wrote to the Government of India on the 29th January 1857 that the grease was composed of tallow and bees wax and that "no extraordinary precaution appears to have been taken to insure the absence of any objectionable fat".[36] In 1853, when the greased cartridges were first tested, Colonel Tucker, Adjutant General of the Bengal army, drew the attention of the Military Board to the danger of issuing them to the sepoys. He communicated to the Board the Commander-in-Chief's opinion that in greasing the cartridges nothing should be used that could possibly offend the religious belief of the sepoys. "Unless it is known that the grease employed in the cartridges is not of a nature to offend or interfere with prejudices of caste it will be expedient not to issue them for test to the native corps, but to European soldiers only to be carried in pouch".[37] After the outbreak of the Mutiny, Tucker (now a Major-General) wrote to the *Times* that if his recommendations "had not been culpably disregarded, the existing disaffection among the native troops would never have arisen". Tucker's letter of 1853, it appears, never reached the authorities, and a search for it in the files after the publication of his letter in the newspaper yielded no result.[38]

Some officers, however, did not understand why the sepoys abhored the use of grease. They felt that much was being made of their objections. Captain Lewis Pelly wrote that he found that his Hindu and Mahommedan sepoys stationed at Bushire protested against the conduct of their comrades in India and were eager to use the new cartridge. Hyder Khan "began to tear it open with the teeth" and Alpat Rai "was peeling off bits of grease with his thumb", and the Brahmin asked "if he might have a sample". Captain Pelly did not quite realise that the sepoys outside India, who had little objection to using the new cartridge, might prove difficult in their own country. Such individuals did not represent the voice of the people and it would be much more difficult to go against one's religious beliefs amongst one's own countrymen. Captain Pelly said that he mentioned the incident to General Jacob "who laughed and said, 'Bite cartridges! They would bite the Devil, these fellows! Lord, man, they have been here, lots of them, laughing like fun, and biting no end of cartridges. . . "[39]

It is unfourtunate that Captain Pelly's description of General Jacob makes him look like the caricature of an old Anglo-Indian Colonel. But he was not alone. There were others who failed to recognise fully the effects of the greased cartridge. The *Times* doubted whether the cartridge "would in itself lead to disaffection extending over several months and shared in more or less by an entire army".[40] The government of India informed the Court of Directors that as soon as the attitude of the sepoys became known they had speedily taken all possible measures, and that Tucker's statement in the press was "erroneous". The government had "at once ordered... that no greased cartridges shuld be issued to native troops". A supply of them might have reached Dum Dum but the sepoys had no occasion to use it "for the preliminary drill without ammunition occupied a considerable period of time. . . It is a fact that not one of the greased cartridges was ever issued to the native soldiers of the school of musketry, nor to any sepoy of the native army".[41] The military authorities, however, did not move so promptly as this letter suggests. They took a long time in making the government order generally known to the sepoys, and as regards the issue of cartridges, evidence is not very clear whether they were distributed to the sepoys or not. But before any effective measure was taken for removing the suspicion of the sepoys, it was widely believed that the government intended a wholesale conversion of the people of India. Men of the 34th Native Infantry, Colonel S. G. Wheler's regiment, were almost convinced that "they would sooner or later be converted to Christianity". This belief soon spread to other regiments. Lord Canning was said to have pledged himself to convert them all to Christianity. Lord Granville said in Parliament in June 1857 that it was assumed that "the Governor-General had left that country under a pledge to Lord Palmerstone that he would do his best to convert the whole of the native population of India".[42] It was possible to be amused or to express surprise at the credulity of the sepoys, but that did not remove the danger. A newspaper in Calcutta published an excerpt from a letter from the North-Western Provinces; "All classes of Natives imagine that they were to be converted by force. . . Amongst the Native soldiery this erroneous imagination dangerously exists".[43]

Early in 1857, as the stories of the greased cartridge spread among the sepoys, reports of incendiarism in different parts of Bengal came to the knowledge of the government. A letter from Calcutta published in a Delhi newspaper mentioned "queer reports about the burning down of the bungalows of the officers of the 2nd Grenadiers at Raneegunge and attempts on the line of that corps. The Electric Telegraph at Barrackpore has been burned and the Quartermaster-Sergeant's bungalow ran risk of destruction. All these things taken in connection have caused so much alarm here. . ."[44] Stray cases of fire in the bungalows of officers who were unpopular or had incurred the displeasure of some of their men were not unknown before 1857. But, from the extent and nature of the cases reported, here appeared to be reason for anxiety. The writer of the above letter commented: "I do not think myself there is much cause for fear, though it looks a little suspicious". The practice soon spread in upper India and a newspaper in Delhi reported a fire in the bungalow occupied by the Sergeant-Major of the 53rd Native Infantry, in which all that was not brick or mortar was consumed.[45] Lord Ellenborough reported in Parliament that between the 16th and the 25th of April there were seven incendiary fires.[46] On the 7th May, the *Delhi Gazette* regretted that the "epidemic chuppaties" were "replaced by epidemic incendiarism", and wondered if "the latter" was not "the fully developed consequence of the former".

Meanwhile, the sepoys in many stations exhibited signs of alarm and disaffection. On the 26th February, men of the 19th Native Infantry stationed at Berhampore near Murshidabad in Bengal; refused to accept percussion caps. They were marched off to Barrackpore near Calcutta, where they were disarmed and disbanded on the 4th May. But before this more serious trouble had occured at Barrackpore on the 29th March when Mangal Pandey, a young sepoy of the 34th Native Infantry, had attacked his officers on the parade ground. It was fondly hoped that the disaffection was confined only to a few regiments and would not affect the whole army. Captain Martineau, who was then stationed at the musketry training school at Ambala, wrote to one of his colleagues on the 5th May, "I am afraid to say I can detect the near approach of the storm. . .but can't say how, when or where it will break forth. . .here are all the elements of combustion at hand, 100,000 men, sullen, distrustful, fierce with all their deepest and inmost sympathies as well as worst passions roused and we thinking to cajole them into good humour by patting them on the back and saying, what a fool you are for making such a fuss about nothing. They no longer believe us, they have passed out of restraint and will be off at a gallop before long".[47]

What Martineau feared took place five days later. A body of ninety men at Meerut had been sentenced to ten years' imprisonment for refusing to accept the cartridges. On the 9th May they were stripped of their uniforms and put in irons. On the 10th May the sepoys at Meerut mutinied, declared that the Company's raj was over, and marched to Delhi, forty miles away. Delhi was occupied next day and the sepoys proclaimd Bahadur Shah, the aged emperor of Delhi, as their leader. Within about a fortnight disturabances had spread to the principal cities in the North-Western Provinces and the whole area was in confusion.

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THE WORSHIP OF THE CLAY IMAGE OF DURGĀ

GAURINATH SASTRI

POPULAR belief traces the origin of the worship of the clay image of Goddess Durgā, in its present form, to the time of Mahārāja Kṛshṇa Chandra of Nadia. But sober history has found out this theory to be absolutely groundless.

Kṛshṇa Chandra was an earlier contemporary of the last independent Nawab of Bengal (about the middle of the 18th Century A.D.), while Raghunandana, the great Smārta of Bengal, was a contemporary of Lord Chaitanya (some 500 years ago); and this Raghunandana has left behind two valuable original works—*Durgotsavatattva* and *Durgāpūjātattva*—which discuss and detail the intricacies of the clay-image-worship of the Goddess, to a great length. These details, again, tally exactly with those of the present-day worship. Surely, these could not have been the inventions of the Smārta's fertile brain; for he himself admits that he has based his works primarily on traditional sources. He also quoted profusely from the authoritative *Purāṇas*, to substantiate his statements, and the quotations from the *Bhavishya*, the *Bṛhannandikeśvara* and the *Kālikā Purāṇas* expressly refer to the clay image of the Universal Mother. The *Mārkaṇḍeya Chaṇḍī* (a portion of the *Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa* also hints at the clay-image-worship of the Goddess (celebrated in the Vernal season and popularly known as the Vāsantī Pūjā).

Raghunandana has also referred to Vāchaspati Miśra's *Kṛtyachintāmaṇi* which mentions the clay image worship of Vāsantī. The name "Durgā" is also to be found in his work. This Vāchaspati must not be identified with the celebrated philosopher Vāchaspati Miśra of the 10th century A.D. He was a Maithila Pandit—an earlier contemporary of Raghunandana.

VIDYĀPATI'S WORK ON DURGĀPŪJĀ

The name of Vidyāpati is also mentioned by him as the celebrated Vaishṇava poet of Mithilā. He is said to have written a work, named *Durgābhaktitaraṅgiṇī* (1479 A.D.), which contained a detailed account of the worship of the clay image of the Goddess. The book is not available at present; but the method described herein is still being followed in many a Śākta family of Bengal. This method, though severely criticised at places by Raghunandana, is but slightly different from that current in Bengal at the present time.

The next book that deals with the worship of the clay image is the *Durgotsavaviveka* of Śrīnātha Āchārya Chūḍāmaṇi, the reputed teacher of Raghunandana. But Raghunandana, strange to say, nowhere mentions the name of Śrīnātha.

Jīmūtavāhana, in his *Durgotsavanirṇaya* (included in his (*Kālaviveka*), also mentions the clay-image-worship of the Goddess. This Jīmūtavāhana was the brother-in-law of Śrīkara, the father of Śrīnātha. Śrīkara's name has been mentioned by Raghunandana, Jīmūtavāhana and Śūlapāṇi, but his works are not extant.

Śūlapāṇi was a contemporary of Jīmūtavāhana. He is reputed to be the preceptor of Śrīnātha. He was a Bengalee Brāhmaṇa, of the Rāḍhīya section and of Bhāradvāja Gotra. His *Durgotsavaviveka* and *Vāsantī Viveka* clearly prove that the worship of the clay image of Durgā, in its present form, was prevalent in Bengal in his time also.

ANCIENT ORIGIN OF AUTUMNAL PŪJĀ

This Nibandhakāra, again, has often quoted from another earlier one named Jīkana, in his *Durgotsavaviveka*. These quotations show beyond doubt that Jīkana also was a Bengalee Pandit; for, his description of the worship of Durgā is exactly the same as that of the other Nibandhakāras, spoken of before. Jīkana has spoken of the "*Saptamyādi Kalpa*" which is even now current in Bengal.

Other quotations in Śūlapāṇi's *Durgotsavaviveka* show that another Nibandhakāra named Vālaka had composed works on the autumnal worship of Durgā. Vālaka's description of the worship and his style of writing prove beyond doubt that Vālaka also was a Bengalee. Nibandhakāras of other provinces (such as the authors of *Parāśaramādhava*, *Nirṇayasindhu*, etc. and Hemādri) have not mentioned the names of Jīkana and Vālaka. This also justifies our conclusion that both of them were Bengalees.

Jīmūtavāhana, in his *Dāyabhāga* has mentioned their names. But this too gives us no clue to their date.

Bhavadeva Bhaṭṭa, the earliest of the extant Bengalee Nibandhakāras, has, more than once, quoted from Jīkana and Vālaka in his own *Prāyaścittaprakaraṇa*. Bhavadeva is said to have lived during the reign of King Harivarmadeva. Harivarmana, on the other hand, ruled in Bengal towards the close of the reign of the Pāla kings of Bengal. So Bhavadeva can be placed in the latter half of the 11th century (or at the utmost, in the first quater of the 12th Century A.D) —even before the establishment of the Sena kingdom in Bengal. So the time of Jīkana and Vālaka goes back to a very early period—much earlier than that of Ballālasena, and Harivarmana; and these Smārtas of old had composed works on the clay-image-worship of Durgā. This fact proves, beyond the least shade of doubt, that Durgāpūjā in its present form, was prevalent in Bengal some 900 or 1000 years ago.

DIFFERENT METHODS OF WORSHIP

These Nibandhakāras, in their turn, have cited the authority of several *Purāṇas* to support their own views. At present "four" different methods of worship are current in Bengal :—

(1) According to the *Kālikā Purāṇa*,
(2) ,, ,, *Devī* ,,
(3) ,, ,, *Bṛhannandikeśvara Purāṇa* and
(4) ,, ,, *Matsya Purāṇa*

There was also a "fifth" method in accordance with the view of *Liṅga Purāṇa*. The *Bṛhannandikeśvara Purāṇa* is not available at present; but the method described therein is still current. The existing recensions of the *Matsya* and the *Liṅga Purāṇas* do not give us any hint as regards the method of worship. So practically "three" methods (the first, the second and the third) are most prevalent; of which the "first two" only are the most authoritative, being traceable to their original surces.

Tradition has it that king Rāmachandra of Ayodhyā was the first to celebrate the autumnal worship of the Goddess. No clue to this tradition can be traced in the present recension of the *Rāmāyaṇa* of Vālmīki. But the commentator of the Rāmāyaṇa (Rāmānuja Svāmin) has quoted from the *Kālikā Purāṇa* to keep up the tradition. The *Mahābhāgavata*, the *Devībhāgavata*, and the *Kālikā Purāṇa* support the tradition, while the *Devībhāgavata* and the *Brahmavaivarta Purāṇa* speak of Rāmachandra as having celebrated both the autumnal and the vernal festivals. It would not be, therefore, safe to reject the tradition altogether, as valueless, especially when it is supported by the authority of the *Purāṇas*. For, *Purāṇas*, however interpolated they may appear at the present time, are undoubtedly older than the oldest specimens of secular Sanskrit Poetry. The origin of the worship of the clay image of Goddess Durgā, can be traced, therefore, to a very early period, if not to the pre-historic age.

DURGĀPŪJĀ IN VEDAS

In the preceding section, we have tried to show the Paurāṇika origin of the worship of Goddess Durgā. In the following lines, we shall proceed to show that Durgā is also a Vedic Deity.

In the *Ṛgveda Saṁhitā*, there are two hymns, generally known as the *Devī-Sūkta* and the *Rātri-Sūkta*. The inspired Seer of the first hymn (Vāk, the daughter of sage Ambhṛṇa) identifies herself with the Almighty Goddess, and describes her own glories and exploits. The second one also celebrates the praise of Durgā. There are two verses in the *Rātri-Sūkta* which clearly refer to the Goddess, and both of these mention the name "Durgā". Sāyanācārya, the great Vedic commentator, while explaining the verses, has pointed out that this Durgā (mentioned in the *Rātri-Sūkta*), is none other than the Great Śakti mentioned in the later *Tantras*.

In the *Kenopanishat*, we find the description of one Umā Haima-vatī; Śaṁkarācārya, the great Advaita Philosopher, has identified her with the Universal Mother,—the constant companion of the Omniscient Lord. He also calls her "Vidyā" and *Śaṁkarānanda* has explained the term as "Brahmavidyā (knowledge of the Absolute) incarnate", Thus we see that Durgā is essentially a Vedic Deity, and the *Upanishads* identify Her with the manifestation of the illimitable energy of the Infinite.

DURGĀPŪJĀ IN LATER PHILOSOPHY

The Vedānta Philosophy, which is but a development of the condensed philosophy of the *Upanishads*, calls Her "*Avyakta prāṇaśakti*" that pervades the Universe. In the *Tantra Prasthāna* of the Vedānta Philosophy, she has been conceived as the Embodiment of World Power with which is incorporated the idea of "Divine Motherhood". The Sāṁkhya Philosophy calls her "Prakṛti", or Primordial Matter, consisting of a balanced proportion of three different constituents (*Guṇas*)—*Sattva* (lightness, luminousness, knowledge, etc.), *Rajas* (activity, passion, etc.), and *Tamas* (darkness, ignorance, etc.); and the world is described as developing according to certain laws out of this Primeval Matter.

The attainment of the four ends of human existence—*Dharma* (Virtue), *Artha* (Wealth), *Kāma* (Desire) and *Moksha* (Emancipation)—is the aim of this image-worship. In the image, besides the Goddess Herself (standing in the centre), the figures of Gaṇeśa, Lakshmī, Sarasvatī, and Kārttikeya are generally attached. Gaṇeśa is the son of Durgā and is the presiding deity of Virtue. Lakshmī, the consort of Vishṇu is the Goddess of Wealth. Kārttikeya, the son of Durgā, is the God of War and is also the presiding deity of Desire. Sarasvatī, the second consort of Vishṇu, is the Goddess of Learning; while Durgā Herself is the giver of Final Release. So the collective worship of these deities paves our way to the Life Eternal, "from which there is no return"—as declares the Revealed Sacred Literature of India.

SOME ASPECTS OF THE NINETEENTH CENTURY BENGALI SOCIETY

SUDHIR RANJAN DAS

MORE than a century ago Bengal's social life was quite different from the one that we have to-day. For the last one hundred years or so Bengal has passed through many trials and tribulations, political and social. There were many social and political upheavals leading to remarkable changes in the very thoughts and ways of life of the Bengali people. Whatever changes and equilibrium we find in the social life of to-day are indeed the results of the social reforms carried out by the reformers of the 19th century. The society of 19th century Bengal was evil-ridden. There was hardly any phase of social life which did not call for immediate reform. It is, however, clear that most of the social evils were current amongst the peoples of the higher caste-groups of Bengal. It is again an irony of fate that the reformers of the 19th century mostly belong to the higher strata of the Bengali Hindus.

Of the many social evils of the 19th century *Kulinism* was the most glaring one. Traditionally speaking, *Kulinism* was introduced by Ballāla Sena, the great Sena king of Bengal. The qualities by which a *Kulin* is to be distinguished from the rest of the people mainly consist of the observance of the Brahmin's duties, meekness, learning, good report, disposition to visit holy places, devotion, preservation of the customs of marriage amongst equals only, asceticism, liberality, etc. These are indeed the marks of a *Kulin*. But soon *Kulinism* changed its nature and character. It was no more based on merits but on birth, and thereby it assumed some features of caste. In spite of that, everybody looked up to the *Kulin* with great respect and considered it a great social distinction and prestige to give his daughter in marriage to a *Kulin*. This resulted in greater demands for *Kulin*-grooms who were thus placed on a heavy premium. Accordingly, this gave rise to the evil practice of dowry system, and *Kulinism* soon turned into a money-making profession. A *Kulin* Brahmin started marrying as many wives as he would please. In the newspaper records of the 23rd April, 1836, we find a long list of *Kulin* Brahmins having several wives, and one of them named Ramchandra Chattopadhyaya had 62 wives. We have also records of a man having more than 100 wives. In other words a *Kulin* Brahmin became a purchaseable commodity which could be sold again and again. In this respect he was no better than a *Maithili-Bikāuwā*. Marriage to a *Kulin* Brahmin became a profession, and naturally so the *Kulins* flourished on this particular connubial business. We are told that such a man used to keep a note-book containing the names of his wives and their respective father. In the winter season he used to start on connubial tours for collecting money from each one of his wives. It is indeed very painful to think of the poor wives of such a *Kulin*. Such a wife was hardly maintained by her husband. On the other hand she had to pass her days under the roof of her father or brother. If possible, the husband in question simply used to make periodical visits to the houses of his wives in order to extract money only. Such a *Kulin* husband had no scruple even to steal away the clothings and ornaments of his wives. The son of a *Kulin* up to the time of the initiation ceremony used to live in his maternal uncle's house or mother's father's house. The rest of his life was solely devoted to matrimonial business. Education was no concern for such a young man. This state of affairs can be easily gleamed from the contemporary newspapers and journals. A certain woman most pathetically narrated her miseries and sufferings caused by this evil practice. This narration was publised in the *Kaumudī* (26th February), 1831. We learn that the father of this lady passed the greater part of his life in many of his father-in-laws' houses, and that she was given in marriage to an old man when she was only 10 or 12 years old. Since her marriage she was not fortunate enough to see her husband, not to speak of living with him. She had even no news about her husband, and so she found no other alternative but to pass her days as a maid-servant in her maternal uncle's house. Such a vivid account of the life of a woman certainly gives us an idea as to the extent of miseries and sufferings of the Bengali women of the 19th century. On the other hand, this evil practice of polygyny gave rise to many immoral practices in society. It was hardly possible for a single man to provide and satisfy so many wives who naturally became victims of manly passions. The other side of the picture was that many aged girls were left unmarried because of the dowry system. In the newspaper records of the year 1839 (7th December) we find that a *Kulin* Brahmin of Bally died leaving behind 100 widows, each of whom had to lead a miserable life serving her family as a menial. Such practices were primarily responsible for changing the real nature and character of the *Satī*-rite which soon turned into an evil and corrupt system. A widow was very often forced to burn herself on the funeral pyre of her husand. Not only that, there also came into vogue the practice of administering intoxicating drug to such a widow, under the influence of which she was made to practise self-immolation. This was the only way found out for getting rid of such widows.

Besides, as each father tried to give his daughter in marriage to a *Kulin*, the non-*Kulins* experienced great difficulty in procuring wives. They had to purchase wives for themselves. This led to the practice of bride-price. This form of selling girls became so common that it soon turned into a flourishing business with the Brahmanical community. It proceeded to such an extent that Brahmins started collecting girls from all other castes and creeds and passed them on as their own daughters. It is recorded in the newspaper letters of the year 1837 that once two Brahmins while travelling in Burdwan came across a charming girl whom they wanted to buy. Understanding the desire of these Brahmins, a *Yavana* (muslim) told them that the said girl belonged to the Muslim community. Even then, the Brahmins agreed to purchase the girl by rupees four. She was immediately clothed with a new *sāḍī* purchased from the local market. On that very night she was sold and given in marriage. Next morning, she was taken to her husband's house. One day, the new wife accidentally uttered some words indicating her affiliation with the Muslim community. Being hard pressed, she had no other alternative but to confess that she was a Muslim girl. Further, we learn that a certain Mukhapadhyaya

Brahmin of Calcutta married a girl born of a Brahmin *upapatnī* of a *Sāheb* (an English man). By that union he had a daughter who was later on given in marriage to a pure *Rāḍhī*-Brahmin. Similarly we learn from other records that two Brahmins married girls who were later on detected to be the daughters of a *Mālākār* (garland-maker or flower-seller). Even at Bhatpara, the home of the orthodox Brahmins, a Brahmin married a girl by purchase. It was only after a long time that he could find out that his wife was the daughter of a *Pōd* (a low and untouchable caste). All these accounts are full of sociological import. They show how so many low caste and Muslim women got entrance into the Brahmanical community. This also raises the question of the racial homogenity of the Brahmanas. This kind of fraud as noted above was practised in other spheres of social life as well. Gambling, drinking and many other vices were not in the least uncommon. Traffic in slaves was also frequent. A very interesting account of traffic in slaves is to be found in the newspaper issues of January, 1840. We learn that a Zaminder of Calcutta while returning from Benares purchased a slave at Bhagalpur with forty rupees.

These are only a few of the many social evils of the 19th century Bengal. Political condition appears to have been largely responsible for perpetuating such evils. There was hardly any established law and order. The whole country at that time was parcelled out into numerous principalities fighting with one another for political supremacy, though the East India Company had to a great extent succeeded in consolidating its political position. But the political unstability was there, and it was because of this that no serious attention could be given to the maintenance of social integrity.

But soon the East India Company made provisions for imparting education to the people, the main purpose of which was to produce "native clerks" for carrying on the administration. The contribution of the prominent men of Bengal of that time towards the spread of education was not also negligible, and in fact, some of them were primarily responsible for the introduction of English education into our country. This introduction of English education opened a new chapter in the history of Bengal, nay of India. With the spread of education and enlightenment new ideas grew up. Such ideas came into direct conflict with the age old culture and traditions of the land. As a result the people of Bengal came to be divided into two major groups—the progressive section armed with western education made the most frantic attempt of doing away with all the evils of the society while the conservative and the orthodox section was bent on preserving the old traditional beliefs and practices and vehemently refused to make any compromise with the progressive trends of the age. Feuds between these two groups became inevitable. Such feuds can be seen in all spheres of life, but they became much more intensified in the sphere of social life.

The progressive section launched a series of campaign with all possible zeal and tenacity to introduce reforms wherever possible. This took the form of a reformation movement in Bengal. It was Raja Rammohan Roy who took the leadership and became the greatest protagonist of doing away with all the evils of the society. But the study of western literature and science was not in the least favoured by the orthodox section, more so by the *Pandits*. It can not at the same time be denied that the reformers also had maintained a blind love for everything occidental and started extolling its moral excellence.

It was at this time that the Hindu College was established. The students of this college were fired with a strong desire of doing away with everything that was old and embracing all that was new—"cast off your prejudices and be free in your thought and actions" became the crying motto of the students. Inspired by these ideals they seriously thought that the only way of doing away with the social evils was to adopt whole heartedly western manners and customs. They started dressing themselves after the western fashion, and English became the most favourite mode of expression. Moral and social problems of the country were seriously discussed, and they did not fail to launch campaigns even against the socio-religious institutions of the country. Brahmins were denounced openly. Many letters were published in the contemporary newspapers, not only denouncing and ridiculing the Brahmins but also publicising their malpractices. In one such letter a writer declared that he could say with great confidence in himself that many of the wives, sons and grandsons of many renouned *Pandits* were indeed the sons and daughters of the *Dhōpā* (washerman), *Nāpit* (barber), *Māli* (flower-seller), *Kumār* (potter), etc. Having got entrance into many prosperous Brahmins' houses even the low caste women became pure Brahmins' wives, and naturally the food articles prepared by such wives came to be considered pure.

The reformers not only directed their attacks on *Kulinism* and polygyny but also made attempts to improve the condition and status of women. The women themselves also became consicious of their legitimate rights and privileges. We have many such letters published in the contemporary papers demanding the enjoyment of their legitimate rights. Here a particular reference may be made to a very interesting letter published in the *Darpan* of 1835. This letter was written by a woman. It becomes clear from the contents of the letter that she demanded such rights for women as to have education, to mix freely with people, to select their own husbands, to be given in marriage only at a proper time, to stop the selling of girls in auction, to stop giving in marriage to one who had many wives, to allow the remarriage of the widows and so on. The writer appears to be quite an intelligent one. She had also tried to show that in comparison to other civilised countries the women in this country had no honourable existence in the society. But we are not, however, sure whether the letter in question was actually written by a woman. It is not quite unlikely that the letter might have been written by one of the then reformists in the name of a woman. Further, in another letter published in the *Darpan* of 1840 we find an earnest appeal being made by a number of women claiming share in paternal property. The arguments set forth in this letter are indeed very forceful and sound. They had also pointed out that the śāstric sanctions and injunctions in these respects had been largely distorted by the Brahmins.

Even the question of widow marriage did not escape the attention of the reformists. In a letter published in the newspaper of the year 1837 we have a reference to the calling of a meeting for givng the widows in marriage. We are told in the letter that "a man after the death of his wife is entitled to marry a second one but a woman is deprived of procuring a second husband". The women themselves as well demanded this right of remarriage. In the *Darpan* of 1835 we have a very interesting discussion on the question of widow marriage. It is said, "amongst the English men when a woman becomes a widow, she is entitled to get married again. But here in this country the widows are not allowed to remarry. A man is permitted to enjoy with *upapatnīs* but if a woman takes refuge to a *upapati*, the whole family and the clan are said to be polluted thereby". On the other hand there is no śāstric sanction behind this prevention of the widow marriage". Accordingly a request or an appeal was made through this letter to the śāstric *Pandits* to come forward with śāstric sanctions for such marriages. They did not also fail to appeal to the Government for allowing the women to enjoy their legitimate rights and privileges. In this connection particular reference may be made to the laudable attempts made by Isvar Chandra Vidyasagar to introduce widow marriage. In spite of very strong opposition he was at last crowned with success and a legislation came into force legalising the widow marriage. Further, the reformists under the leadership of Raja Rammohan Roy did succeed in putting an end to the inhuman practice of the *Satī*-rite. In this respect we have very interesting discussions in the contemporary newspapers. The orthodox section vehemently protested against the attempt for the prevention of the *Satī*-rite. Not only that, they even made an appeal to the Government for not interfering with the religious rites and practices of the Hindus. In the newspaper issues of January, 1830, we have a letter published under the signatures of Kalinath Raychaudhuri, Rammohan Roy, Dwarakanath Tagore, Prasannakumar Tagore, etc. The letter is addressed to William Bentinck for drawing his attention to the horrible practice of the *Satī*-rite and also requesting him to legislate for its prevention. On the other hand the *Pandits* saw the Governor-General and prayed to him for the retention of the traditional *Satī*-rite. But at last the *Satī*-rite was declared illegal by an act.

It is thus by creating opinions against many such social evils that reforms were brought about in many other spheres of social life. In this connection also we have several letters published in the contemporary newspapers. In such letters the people in general were urged to stop all sorts of vices and malpractices current in the society. In one such letter we find an appeal to the thoughtful section of the society to put a stop to such vices as drinking, gambling, etc., which were very common in fairs and religious festivals of those days. Again appeals were made to the public through the newspapers for the prevention of wasting money in numerous religious festivals. In one such letter we are told that "money is being wasted for nothing in all religious festivals as for instance in *Durgā-pūjā* in which singing and dancing predominate but in reality these do not form part of the *pūjā* itself". An appeal was accordingly made for spending that amount for the purpose of education and also for the industrial and commercial progress. Such appeals produced salutary effect on the public mind, and we understand that roads were constructed for the betterment of communication and hospitals were established by the kind hearted rich people for the treatment of the poor. People also started appreciating the need and value of education, and many schools were opened after the western model.

Nothing escaped the notice of the reformers. They also did set their heart for the industrialisation of the country or in other words to make the country economically prosperous. It was realised that industrialisation was the only means of liquidating poverty. Great interest was taken on such discussions in contemporary papers. On this subject we have a very interesting letter published in the *Bhagnadut* of the year 1830 wherein we are told that "clothes, etc., are now being imported from England and hence they are costlier. Now if machines are installed in our country, articles would be cheaper". Some, however, thought that this would bring about the ruination of the country.

But this reformation movement brought about a reaction in the country. There arose a strong orthodox or conservative section, the primary object of which was to defend or protect and uphold the age-old tradition and culture of the land. The reformists on the other hand went to the extreme and thereby very often infuriated the orthodox people. In the *Samāchār Chandrikā* the orthodox section as well started bitterly criticising the ways of life of the reformists. Students of the Hindu college were the pioneers in this reform movement and naturally so, most of the revengeful attacks were directed against them. The older people got utterly disgusted with the extreme views of the younger generation. A letter is found in the *Chandrikā* of the year 1830 in which an old father laments on the conduct of his son. He had sent his son to the Hindu college with the expectation that he would be able to procure a good Government job. But the father was utterly disappointed. He tells us in that letter that his son was a quiet and submissive boy. He used to do all works for the family. But after his entrance into the Hindu college the boy had changed completely. He gave up the traditional customs and practices and most successfully moulded his life after the western fashion. Whenever a piece of advice was given to him, he simply uttered the word, "nonsense". On enquiry from his teachers the father learnt that the boy studied English, mathematics, geography and history. But in reality, it was found out that the boy did not learn anything. If any garment was offered to him in accordance with the custom of the country, he would say, "Am I an actor? I want stockings, walking shoes, etc". In the *Prabhākar* of 1830 another complaint is found against a student of the Hindu college. A certain gentleman went to *Kālighāt* along with his son who happened to be a student of the Hindu college. But the son did not bow his head either to the Brahmanas or to the deity. On being insisted by the father the boy addressed the deity as, "Good morning, Madam"! At this the father became very much angry and when he was about to beat the boy, another gentleman intervened by saying—"This is not the place for the expression of your anger". The father became very much mortified and said to the boy, "Did I send you to the Hindu college to bring down the fame and prestige of my family and caste"? The orthodox section did not fail even to criticise the manners, customs, dress, language, etc., of the new generation. We have records of such scathing criticism in the contemporary papers. Here a particular reference may be made to their dress and language. Those who were educated after the western fashion did not speak any other language excepting English. They even had a strong desire to dress themselves after the western fashion but unfortunately they could not always do so because of their dark skin colour. Even if they would have dressed in that fashion, they would look like a *Feringi*. Again, such a person would not be allowed to have any entrance into the inner apartment of the house, and if anybody by chance entered, others would say—"A *Feringi* has entered into the inner apartment". Further, it was believed that if anybody could dine with the English people, they would be on a par with their colour and hence they would belong to that community because the current meaning of the term *Varṇa* was *jāti*. Here again a reference may be made to a very interesting story published in the contemporary papers. Once a gentleman witnessed some boys dressed after the western fashion proceeding towards *Vāṅgālitolā*. He learnt from another passerby that these boys were the sons of a *Bābu*. The gentleman could not believe it because he could hardly find out any difference in dress; the only difference noticed was the skin-colour. Then we have the comments thus—"there is no reason for considering English dress better for the Bengali boys. If they happen to enter into the inner apartment of the house in such a dress, other members of the family would be afraid of them and some others would say that they have seen an English man entering into the inner apartment of that man's house. Accordingly, there is no justification of wearing the European dress". A vivid description of the then life of Calcutta is also to be found in a beautiful poem published in the *Saṁbād-purṇa-Chandrōdaya* of the year 1836.

The reformists and the breakers of the old social laws and the traditions of the country were certainly looked down upon by the orthodox section. The conservatives did not also miss any opportunity to ridicule them. But failing to check the tide of new ideas and thoughts they had at last started making frantic appeals to the Government for putting an end to all such practices in order to protect their caste and *dharma* from being undermined and ridiculed.

Here we must also note that some of the prominent persons of the progressive section of the Bengali community of the 19th century were also sometimes sharply divided on many important questions of social reforms. It will not be out of place here to make a particular reference to the famous reports of the committee appointed in 1866 by the then Government of Bengal to report on the necessity of legislating on the subject of polygyny prevalent amongst the Hindus. The members of the committee were such renouned persons as Hobhouse, Prinsep, Suttochurn Ghosal, Jaykissen Mookerjee, Isvar Chandra Sarma and Digumber Mitter. The report of this committee presents a true picture of *Kulinism* and polygyny, and it has even made relevant quotations from the *Śāstras*, particularly from the *Manusaṁhitā*. The committee had also taken into consideration the evils and vices emanating from such practices. After making a thorough and critical analysis the committe submitted the report with the following concluding words:

"On these considerations we find that it is not in our power to suggest the enactment of any Declatory Law, neither can we think of any legislative measure that, under the restricted instructions given for our guidance, will suffice for the suppression of the abuses of the system of polygamy as practised by the Kulin Brahmins, and we beg to report to that effect".

But Ramnauth Tagore, Jaykissen Mookerjee and Degumber Mitter gave their opinions separately as well. In the opinions of the first and the third members the evils have been too much exaggerated, and that due to the spread of education and growth of new ideas the values of life had changed considerably and that the evils were on the process of being mitigated. They were convinced that the Brahmanas would gradually become monogamous and "the force of social opinion the more widely felt". Accordingly, they did not think of the necessity of any legislation for mitigating these evils. They thought that "a legislative enactment, however, stringent and rigidly enforced, might be effectual in diverting those evils from their original course, but it is quite powerless to stop the source from which they take their rise". Therefore, they came to the conclusion that "this question may, without injury to public morals, be left for settlement to the good sense and judgement of the people. The Government can not directly interfere without producing serious harm in diverse ways. All that it can and ought to do is to assist in the spread of that enlightenment which has already so much advanced the desired reform". As to Jaykissen Mookerjee's opinion we may note that he was at first in favour of a legislation for putting an end to the evil practice of polygyny but later enquiries had convinced him that in view of the progressive trend in the society, "it would consequently in accord with the true interest of morality as well as of the cause of improvement for the state to abstain from interfering in the matter". But Isvar Chandra Sārma did not in the least agree with the opinions expressed by other members of the committee. In his opinion the evils have not been greatly exaggerated and that the decrease of evils" is not sufficient to do away with the necessity of legislation. He concludes his note of dissent by saying, "I do not concur in the conclusion come to by other gentlemen of the committee. I am of opinion that a Declatory law might be passed without interfering with that liberty which the Hindus now by law possess in the matter of marriage".

These extracts from the report of the said committee show that the intelligensia of the 19th century Bengal were sharply divided on the steps to be adopted for mitigating social evils. Those who did not favour enactments were not also entirely wrong. Even to-day we are to admit that many of our social evils have disappeared or are on the process of disappearing due to the gradual spread of education and enlightenment. Even enactments have not always succeeded in eradicating the evils for which they were meant. In spite of the widow marriage act enforced long ago, we do hardly find any widow belonging to the high caste Hindus being normally given in marriage. Isvar Chandra Sarma was, however, the only person who gave a strong note of dissent. His point of view is also quite understandable. He wanted to hasten the process of doing away with the evils by enactments. In this respect he is fully justified.

Thus in spite of stubborn opposition from the orthodox and moderate sections of the Bengali community of the 19th century the reformists remained undaunted. The culture and the tradition of the conservative section reflected that mentality which can in reality be coordinated with the then prevailing condition of Bengal. But the reformists never lost heart. They continued their struggle to clean society by doing away with its evils. Fortunately with the lapse of time the extreme views of both the sections were considerably moderated and a stable equilibrium in the social life was brought about. Thanks to the zeal and tenacity of the reformers of the 19th century we have been able to get rid of many of our social evils.

A DOCUMENT RELATING TO THE WORSHIP AT THE PURI TEMPLE

Sisir Kumar Mitra

Pandit Gaṅgādhar Kavirāj (1798-1885 A.D.) was a renowned physician of Murshidabad. In addition to his wide professional knowledge Pandit Gaṅgādhar cultivated tastes in diverse other branches of learning, including religion, philosophy and literature. Naturally he had a fairly good collection of manuscripts, a part of which has recently been acquired by the Sanskrit College, Calcutta. From one of the bundles Pt. Jagadish Chandra Tarkatirtha, discovered a letter dated Monday, Āśvina 1, 1274 B.S. (Sept. 16, 1867 A.D.) which contains an interesting information about the worship of Jagannāthadeva of Puri. I am indeed grateful to my Principal, Dr. Gaurinath Sastri for having kindly allowed me the privilege of presenting the document before the scholars for its proper assessment.

The letter is written in Nāgarī script in a small piece of mauve tinted mill-made paper of the size of 5″×7·9″, folded and wrapped up with another piece of the same paper improvised as an envelope of the size of 5″×2·1″.

The envelope bears the particulars of the addressee in three scripts,—Nāgarī, Oriyā and Bengali. It is clearly indicated that the letter was to reach the residence of Śrī Gaṅgādhar Kavirāj in Rājāgunje area of Saidābād, near Khāgrā in Muksudābād (Murshidabad). There are no less than six postal marks on the reverse side of the envelope; one of them reads, '23:9:67. Calcutta', and another is marked,—'Travelling P.O. No. 3. GR. Bengal, 23:9:67', while of the remaining four faded date stamps, the words 'Calcutta' and 'Rājāgunje' can be deciphered in two only.

In the letter itself there are 13 lines of writing in Nāgarī script, of which the first seven lines are in Sanskrit and the last six lines in Bengali. It begins and ends with usual benedictory expressions like 'Svasti' and 'Subhamastu' respectively. In the opening sentence Śrī Jagadbandhu

Miśra and Śrī Dāśarathi Praharāja, possibly priests of the Puri temple, address respectfully Śrī Gaṅgādhara Kavirāj, and offer him their blessings. In the Sanskrit portion besides the formal address, it is stated that the writers come to know that the text of the Tāntrik treatise, "Śrī Bhagavatī Bhāgavata", in the possession of Pandit Gaṅgādhar, is incomplete; and that they may supply him the missing chapters. The writers further intimate him that Chapters 11 and 12 have already been copied out by them. Then they disclose the real purpose of their approaching Pandit Gaṅgādhar. They quote an expression relating to the "Bhairavī Chakra", a form of worship in which a group of Tantrik worshippers sit in meditation, and request him to explain the real nature of the Chakra along with the deities associated with it as well as their particular forms of worship.

In the second part of the letter, written in Bengali, has been described the circumstances that made the writers send out such an urgent enquiry, and this is highly important for our purpose. It is stated that formerly there was an image of Bhairava, a līlā-mūrtti of Śiva, complete with its vāhana, affixed to the pedestal of the wooden image of the principal deity, Jagannātha, and that about sixty years ago (*c.*1800 A.D.) the bairāgīs (Vaishṇava ascetics) destroyed it completely. At this the daṇḍī sanyāsins (Śaivite ascetics) left the temple in wrath after cursing them. Now at the time of writing (Sept. 1867 A.D.) at the initiative of a Kanauji Brahmin from Bengal an attempt was being made for the restoration of the Bhairava image and for that purpose an exposition of the said Bhairavī Chakra was deemed essential.

The historical significance of the information contained in the letter can be analysed as follows,—

(*i*) a Śaivite Bhairava image with its vāhana continued to adorn the sanctum of the temple of Jagannātha, known to be a Vishnuite deity as late as the beginning of the 19th century

(*ii*) Vaishṇava worshippers of the temple having gained predominance removed the Śaiva-Tāntrik icon at the beginning of the 19th century.

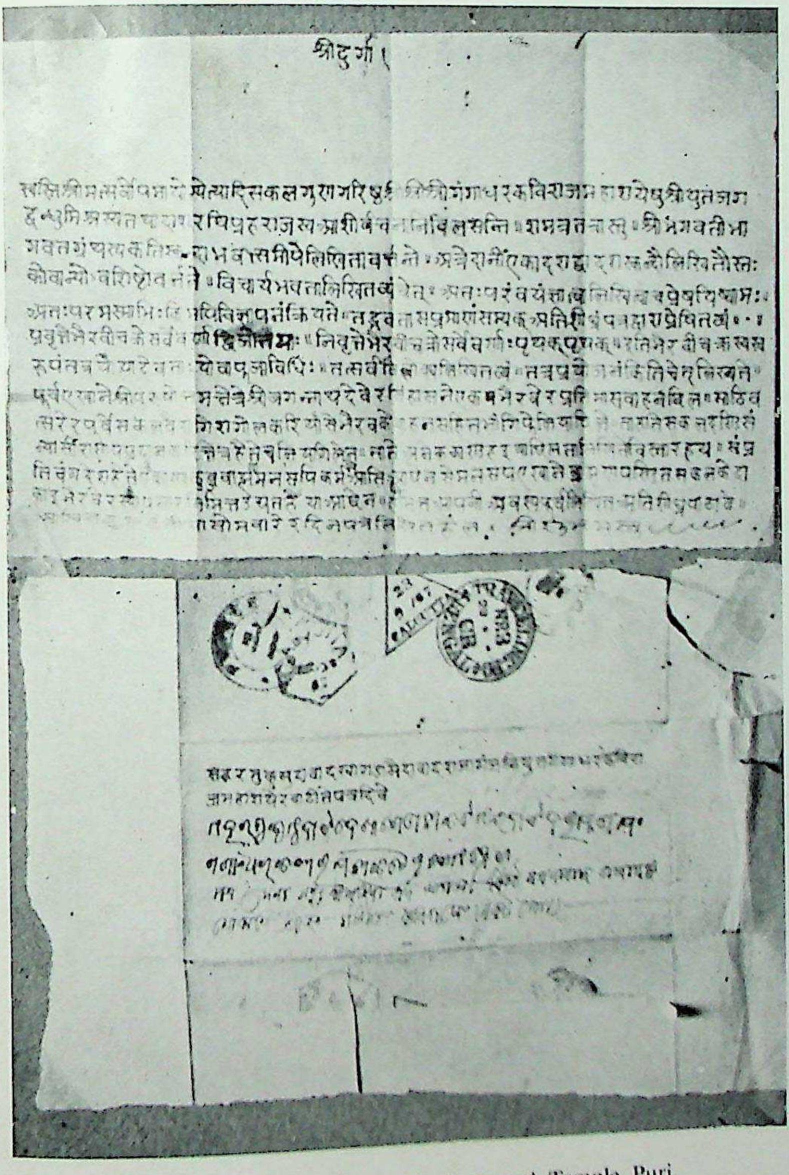
(*iii*) a pilgrim from Bengal took the lead in summoning a conference of all interests including the brahmins and other learned men, and a decision was taken for the restoration of the Bhairava image, and

(*iv*) a reference was made again to a Bengali scholar for necessary rituals, evidently Tāntrik, for the said restoration ceremony.

In tracing the history Jagannātha worship in Orissa it becomes clear that the worship of this presiding deity of Orissa passed through different phases, and that Buddhism, Śaivism and Tāntrikism influenced it at different periods of history. It is indeed difficult to be sure since when Jagannātha came to be worshipped, but the consensus of opinion is that Jagannātha and Balarāma are but different names of Vāsudeva and Saṁkarshaṇa of the Bhāgavata sect, and that this form of Bhāgavatism flourished in Orissa in about 5th century A.D. The presence of Subhadrā in between Jagannātha and Balarāma has however been convincingly identified now as Ekānaṁśā, a form of Śakti, and not the sister of Krishṇa and Baladeva. It is believed that she too came to be included in the Jagannātha group as early as 5th century A.D., thus bringing with it an element of Śāktism in the form of worship. But by 8th century A.D. Śaivism acquired a prominent position in Orissa, and this movement received a great momentum with the visit of the saint-philosopher Śaṅkarāchārya, who, it is said, introduced the śaivite form of worship in the Jagannātha temple. Even Jagannātha came to be identified by the Śaivites as a form of Śiva. Like Śaivism, Śāktism or Tāntrikism also had its influence on the Jagannātha cult, and this influence can be traced from the time Subhadrā-śakti was associated with it. Now the introduction of śaivite forms in the worship lent an added force to it. This is not only demonstrated by the numerous śṛṅgāra and mithuna sculptures on the temple walls, but also by the installation of Vimalā, a form of Śakti, in a separate temple within the court-yard of the main temple of Jagannātha. Vimalā came to be regarded by the Śākta worshippers as Bhairavī Śakti and Jagannātha her Bhairava consort. Even Puri acquired the distinction of being included in the list of Śakti-pīṭhas, a place of pilgrimage for the Śāktas. Thus an interesting form of syncretism developed in the worship of Jagannāthadeva. From time to time vaishṇavites tried to restore exclusive vaishṇava forms in the temple, but despite such attempts, syncretism still continues there. Rāmānuja the famous vaishṇava philosopher of the viśishṭādvaita school, who visited Puri in the 11th century, introduced the Śrī cult in the temple with Vimalā as Śrī or Lakshmī, the consort of Vishṇu-Jagannātha. Even he attempted to introduce the 'smārta' form of rituals in place of the heterogenous forms. But it is well known that in spite of the royal patronage of the Gaṅgas that he enjoyed, he failed to effect any change whatsoever. From 12th century onwards however Jagannātha has been regarded as a vishnuite deity to which the neo-vaishṇavism of Chaitanyadeva provided an added force in the 15th century, though all along the time elements of Śaivism and Tāntrikism continued in the rituals of Jagannātha worship.

This letter from the two priests of the Jagannātha temple by referring to the existence of the icon of Bhairava with its vāhana on the pedestal of the main deity provides us with a proof positive about the Tāntrik element in the worship of Jagannātha. But what makes the document more interesting is the fact about the influence of pilgrims from Bengal in the form of rituals in the temple. It is indeed curious that sometimes in 1867 A.D., about sixty years or more after the removal of the image of Bhairava from the inner sanctum of the temple, a conference of brāhmins and other learned men interested in the affairs of the temple was convened at the instance of a pilgrim from Bengal in which a decision in favour of re-installation of the Bhairava image was taken, probably with an eye to attract pilgrims from Bengal; and it is quite well known that since the days of Chaitanyadeva Bengal provided the main bulk of worshippers to the Jagannātha temple and their wishes naturally weighed with the temple authorities. Another important factor that appears to be highly significant in the letter is that an exposition of the rituals of 'Bhairavī Chakra' was asked for from a Bengali scholar, which indirectly indicates that Bengal, an important centre of Śāktism, not only maintained contact with Orissa but deeply and abidingly exercised its influence on the form of worship of the presiding deity of the region. Finally a reference may be made to the Bhairavī Chakra, an indispensable part of Tāntrik worship of Vīrāchāra form, in which the worshippers do away with the caste distinctions when they are in the meditative group. All the members are considered as equals and even they are free to partake food and drink from the common bowl. It is not known since when such an acute form of Tāntrik ritual came to be introduced in the worship of Jagannātha, but it may not be out of place if we mention in this connection that Śaṅkara was an ardent follower of Tantrikism himself.

Now, about the proposed restoration of Bhairava image as mentioned in the letter, we are not in possession of any further data as to be sure about what transpired thereafter. But it can hardly be denied that still some Tāntrik rituals persist in the worship of Jagannāthadeva, and it is believed even to this day that caste distinctions are not recognised in the Purushottama-kshetra.



Letter regarding worship at the Jagannath Temple, Puri.

A NOTE ON THE FIRST SONPUR GRANT OF YAYĀTI MAHĀŚIVAGUPTA I

DILIP KUMAR BISWAS

THE first Sonpur grant of the Somavaṁśī ruler Mahāśivagupta I Yayāti, which was enearthed by a cultivator almost on the boundary of the villages of Jate Singa and Dungri in the former Sonpur state, Orissa, is of great importance in the history of ancient Orissa for various reasons. Modern research tends to place Mahāśivagupta I in the second half of the tenth century A.D., roughly between *c.* A.D. 970-1000.[1] The grant, which is dated in the 3rd year of the king, should therefore be tentatively placed early in that period. The late Mr. B. C. Majumdar rendered great service to the cause of historical research by editing the record for the first time under the title *Mārañja-Murā Charter* in the *Journal of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society*.[2] While it would be improper not to appreciate the value of Mr. Majumdar's efforts, it is at the same time necessary to point out that some of his readings and interpretations of passages in the inscription, are open to question. In this short article I shall take up only one such point for discussion.

The charter records the grant of the villages *Mārañja* and *Murā*, situated within the *Santovarḍā-khaṇḍa* of *Samvara-Vāḍi-Maṇḍala* within the *Bhraṇḍa-Viṣaya* of Kośala, to the Brāhmaṇa Yaśaskara of the *Parāśara gotra* and *Ātreya pravara*, son of Śantikara and grandson of Nārāyaṇa. The donee is described as an immigrant from *Hastigrāma* belonging to the *Madhyadeśa*.

According to Mr. Majumdar the term *Madhyadeśa* in the present context, does not stand for the celebrated region of northern India of that name which originally extended from the Himalayas in the north to the western Vindhyas in the south, and Thaneswar in the west to Allahabad in the east. He goes on to locate the *Madhyadeśa* of the inscription in the area covered by the northern portion of the district of Balasore (in Orissa) and the sub-division of Contai (in the

Midnapore district, West Bengal), mainly on the following grounds: First, the Oriya *Brāhmaṇas* and *Mahantis* who live at present in the Contai sub-division of the Midnapore district (West Bengal), call themselves the inhabitants of Madhyadeśa i.e. the tract lying between Bengal and Orissa; secondly the other charters of the Somavaṁśī rulers of Orissa (called the Trikaliṅga Guptas by Mr. Majumdar) disclose the fact that the Brāhmaṇas who were given lands in the Kośala country and who bore the family name *Kara*, were brought from Oḍradeśa; and thirdly it was not likely that Brāhmaṇas came direct from Kanauj (identical according to Mr. Majumdar with the celebrated Madhyadeśa of northern India) to settle in Kośala, to be associated with Oriya-speaking Brāhmaṇas there.

The above arguments seem a little curious. In the first place we can by no means rely on the evidence of the *modern* Oriya-speaking *Brahmin* and *Mahanti* dwellers of the Contai sub-division, in course of our attempts to explain the geographical term *Madhyadeśa* occuring in an epigraphic record of the tenth century A.D. There is no proof that the area comprising parts of the Balasore district of Orissaand the Midnapore district of West Bengal, was known as *Madhyadeśa* at any time in the tenth century A.D. or before. The modern dwellers of the region lying between Orissa and Bengal may, for all we know, have coined the expression with an eye on the modern boundaries of the two provinces. Those boundaries were certainly not so well-marked or well defined in ancient and early medieval times. The *Madhyadeśa* of the record cannot therefore be placed in the area named by Mr. Majumdar merely on the strength of a *modern* assertion. As to the second argument of Mr. Majumdar, it is evident that his theory, based on the so-called surname *Kara* of the donnee, sounds extremely unconvincing. Three generations of the family are mentioned in the record and one sees clearly from the list that *Kara* was not the regular surname of the members of the family, the grandfather of our donee bearing the simple name Nārāyaṇa. Besides Mr. Majumdar has not also been able to establish the point that *Kara* was a *Brahmin*-surname confined to the limits of some particular region of Orissa. The final argument of Mr. Majumdar has a subjective element in it. He does not think it possible that the proud Brāhmaṇas of Kanauj (*sic.*) would condescend to settle down among their Oriya-speaking counterparts whom they would naturally assign a much lower social rank. It may be said that in propounding this view Mr. Majumdar has overlooked the extremely interesting and important social phenomenon of almost continuous *Brahmin*-immigration into Orissa from outside during the ancient period, particularly from the ninth to the beginning of the twelfth century A.D. Brāhmins in ancient India were always great travellers and the picture of the immigrant Brāhmaṇa family is only too familiar to the student of early Indian epigraphy. As the numerous inscriptions of ancient Orissa indicate very clearly, Orissa certainly was no exception in this respect. Brāhmins from different parts of the country settled down here and were lavishly patronised by the different royal dynasties. The mention of *Kolāñcha*, *Śrāvasti*, *Takari* etc. as the orginal homes of some of these immigrant Brāhmaṇa families probably point to the conclusion that the historical *Madhyadeśa* was also among those regions that from time to time sent contingents of learned Brāhmaṇas to Orissa. In view of this testimony to the contrary, one finds it extremely difficult to agree with Mr. Majumdar when he said that Brāhmaṇas from Kanauj or such other places of upper India would hesitate, due to social reasons, to settle down in Orissa.

It is therefore much more reasonable to think that our epigraph contains a reference to the original *Madhyadeśa* in northern India.

References

[1] *The Age of Imperial Kanauj* (edited by R. C. Majumdar & A. D. Pusalkar), p. 146.

[2] J.B.O.R.S., Vol. II, pp. 45-59.

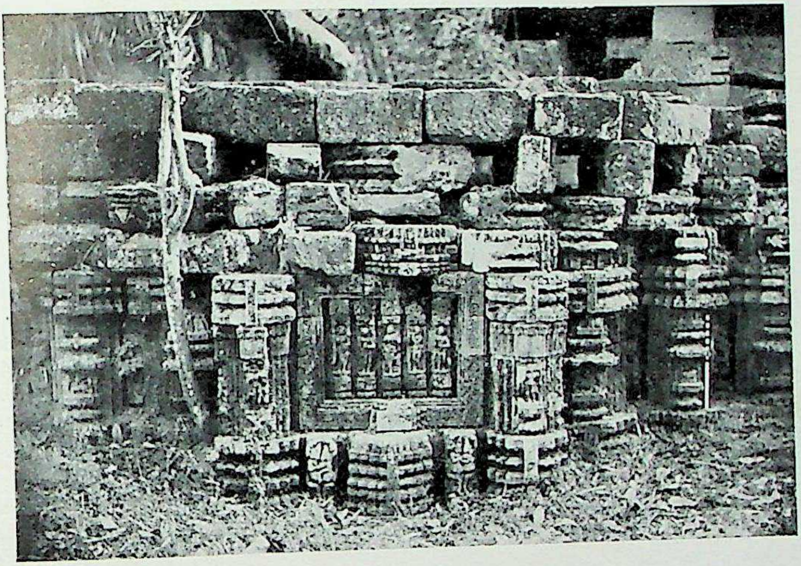
PAÑCHA-PĀṆḌAVA TEMPLE OF GAṆESWARPUR

DEBALA MITRA

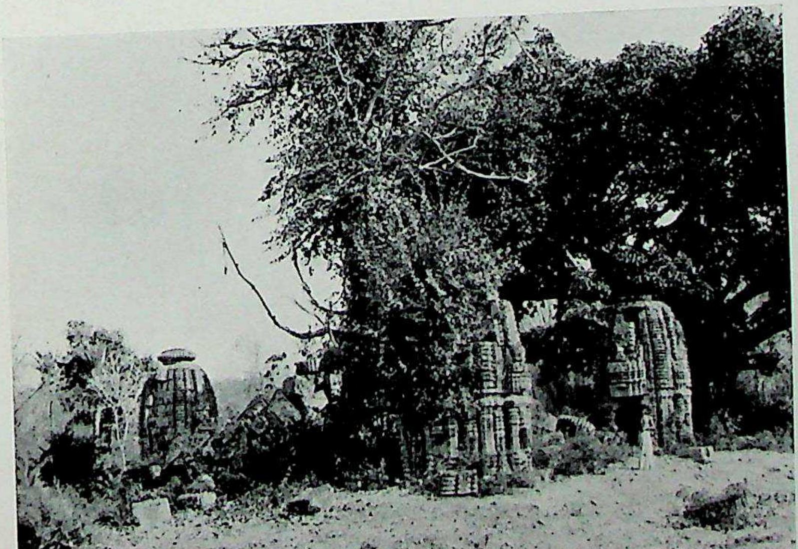
THE little village of Gaṇeswarpur (Lat. 20° 35′ and Long. 86° 5′), District Cuttack, six miles to the south-east of Boyree (variantly spelt Bairi) station (on Calcutta-Madras railway line) was once a flourishing settlement, as evident from the two ruined stone temples pertaining to two different periods of building activity.

The later one, dedicated to Śiva, is located right in the centre of the village and is still in worship. The major portion of this temple, which consists of a *deul* (sanctum) and a *jagamohana* (porch), facing east, enclosed by a compound wall, has disappeared and is meagrely substituted by modern shabby accretions. The lower part of the *deul* is now buried below the débris of its superstructure. The temple is closely related to the Yameśvara and Ananta-Vāsudeva temples of Bhubaneswar, in plan, scheme of decoration and carvings and was approximately of the same period (i.e. thirteenth century). *Pañcha-ratha* in plan, the *deul* has a four-armed Pārvatī, Kārttikeya, also four-armed, with his mount peacock and a cock in one of his left hands, and Gaṇeśa, respectively in the north, west and south niches of the *bāḍa*. The eight *dikpālas* occur in the *khākharā-muṇḍis* of the corner *ratha* of the lower *jāṅgha* and their *śaktis* in the *piḍhā-muṇḍis* of the upper *jāṅgha* of the same *ratha*. The entire *śikhara* together with portions of the *bāḍa* above the *jāṅgha* is now missing. The *jagamohana* is provided with non-functional balustraded windows, the five balusters of the northern window being relieved with musicians. The door-frames of both the *deul* and *jagamohana* are richly carved. Flanking the entrance of the latter are two round pilasters.

This temple, though ornate, pales into insignificance when it is compared with the deserted temple (locally called Pañcha-Pāṇḍava temple) standing in a neglected condition in the outskirt of the village. Its situation at the foot of a hill, called Jalauka,[1] on the bank of the Birupa, is picturesque.

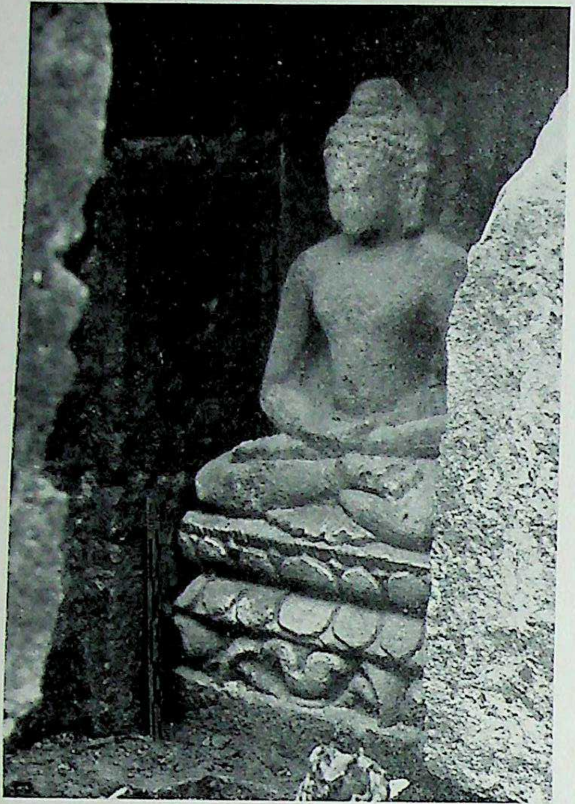


1. Ganeswarpur : Siva Temple, Jagamohana.

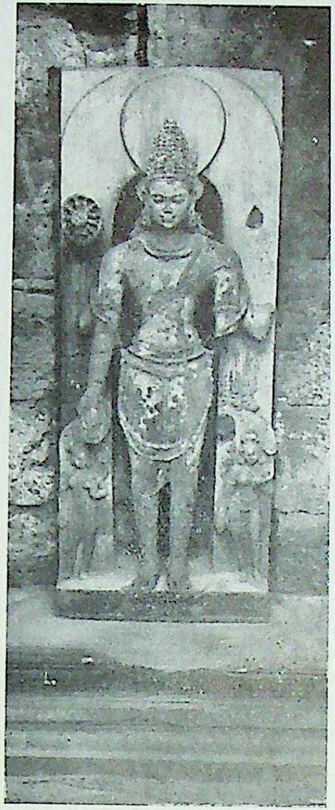


2. Ganeswarpur : Panca-Pandava Temple, General View.

By courtesy of Archaeological Survey of India.



3. Ganeswarpur : Panca-Pandava Temple, Image of Dhyani Buddha.



4. Ganeswarpur : Panca-Pandava Temple, Image of Visnu.

By courtesy of Archaeological Survey of India.

Unfortunately it is in a tottering condition. The villagers frankly admitted, when I visited the place from my camp at Ratnagiri,[2] that they do not hesitate to take out the stones from the ruins, whenever they are in need. The floors and walls of the subsidiary temples, now standing, and also the platform form convenient places for making cow-dung cakes. They even do not have any objection to the removal of the image to some museum.

With four subsidiary shrines at four corners and the main one at the centre, all of khondalite, built on a low quadrangular platform, the latter's façade moulded and relieved with carvings, the temple is of the *pañchāyatana* class. What, however, distinguishes this temple from most of this class, is the lavish surface treatment of the corner-shrines, which, as a rule, are left bare as compared to the central shrine. Of the corner-shrines, the one at the north-east has completely disappeared, and the south-eastern is the best-preserved of the remaining three.

The central shrine, facing east, is in the last stage of disintegration and decay. It is now shorn of its upper portion including the entire *gaṇḍi* and a part of the *bāḍa*. A full view of the extant portion of the *bāḍa* is precluded by the fallen stones, which have engulfed it, covering all the images, except one, which embellish the walls. The front part of the shrine is also extremely dilapidated and only a narrow space, broad enough for a man to enter the *garbha*, is kept clear of débris. But one can easily visualize its original form, elevation and plastic treatment of the surface, partly from the surviving portion of the *bāḍa* and the fallen carved pieces, and largely from the intact subsidiary shrines, which were no doubt modelled after the main shrine. Amidst the débris lies a huge fragmentary *āmalaka*, which evidently formed one of the crowning elements of the main shrine.

The only image on the wall that can now be seen is that of Buddha (1′6″ high), with an oval halo, seated in *dhyāna-mudrā* in *vajra-paryaṅkāsana* on a double-petalled lotus, fixed in the niche of the left (south) *anuratha* flanking the entrance to the temple. Ganeswarpur's close proximity[3] to the Buddhist establishments of Lalitagiri, Udayagiri, Ratnagiri and Rameshwar may partly account for its occurrence. But the adoption of the image of Buddha in a Vaishṇava shrine is of unique interest, as it shows the spirit of toleration among the followers of two diverse religious faiths at least in this particular region.

The sanctum is 7 ft. 3 in. square internally and its *garbha-muda* (lowest ceiling) rests on two corbels. The chamber over the *garbha-muda* is accessible by an opening above the roof of the passage.

Partly fixed in the back wall of the shrine and resting on a spouted pedestal having three mouldings is a chlorite image (5 ft. 5 in. high) of four-armed Vishṇu in *samapāda-sthānaka* pose on a double-petalled lotus. But for its arms, the image is in the round. Clad in a short *dhotī* and a folded scarf, it is elegantly bedecked in anklets, bangles, armlets, *kuṇḍalas*, two kinds of *hāra*, finger-rings, a girdle, a *ratna-upavīta*, a richly bejewelled high *mukuṭa* and a garland of *champaka* flowers. The upper right carries a *chakra*, and the lower right is in *varada-mudrā* with a small lotus-mark on the palm. It is not possible to determine exactly the particular sub-order to which the image belonged on account of the missing attributes in the left hands. The oval *śiraśchakra*, which is severely plain, is inconspicuously pointed at the top.

The two consorts of Vishṇu, Śrī and Pushṭi, are carved on either side, their heads reaching the thigh-level of the main image. Bejewelled in usual ornaments and bun-shaped *jaṭā-mukuṭa*, both stand in graceful *ābhaṅga* pose with their heads and shoulders resting against the background of a plain *prabhāvalī*, rounded at the top. With their right hands in *varada*, both hold in their left hands the stalk of a full-blown lotus. The occurrence of a lotus in the hand of Pushṭi is rather unusual, but this iconographic peculiarity conforms to the description of the *Matsya-Purāṇa* when it enjoins *Śrīścha Pushṭiścha kartavyė pārśvayoḥ pādmasaṁyute*.[4]

The workmanship of the image is fairly good. The simplicity of the whole composition and austerely plain *prabhāvalī* are suggestive of an early date (about eighth-ninth century).

All traces of the porch, if there was any, have disappeared. The clearance of the débris may throw some light on this point. There was, however, an *antarāla* made in the thickness of the central projection containing the entrance-passage.

The lintel of the latter has a horizontal chase running from one end to the other. Inside the chase was no doubt inserted, for additional support, an iron beam, of which traces, though scanty, still linger.

The masonry of the main shrine, as also that of the subsidiary shrines, is dry, the stones being kept in position by means of iron dowels and clamps.

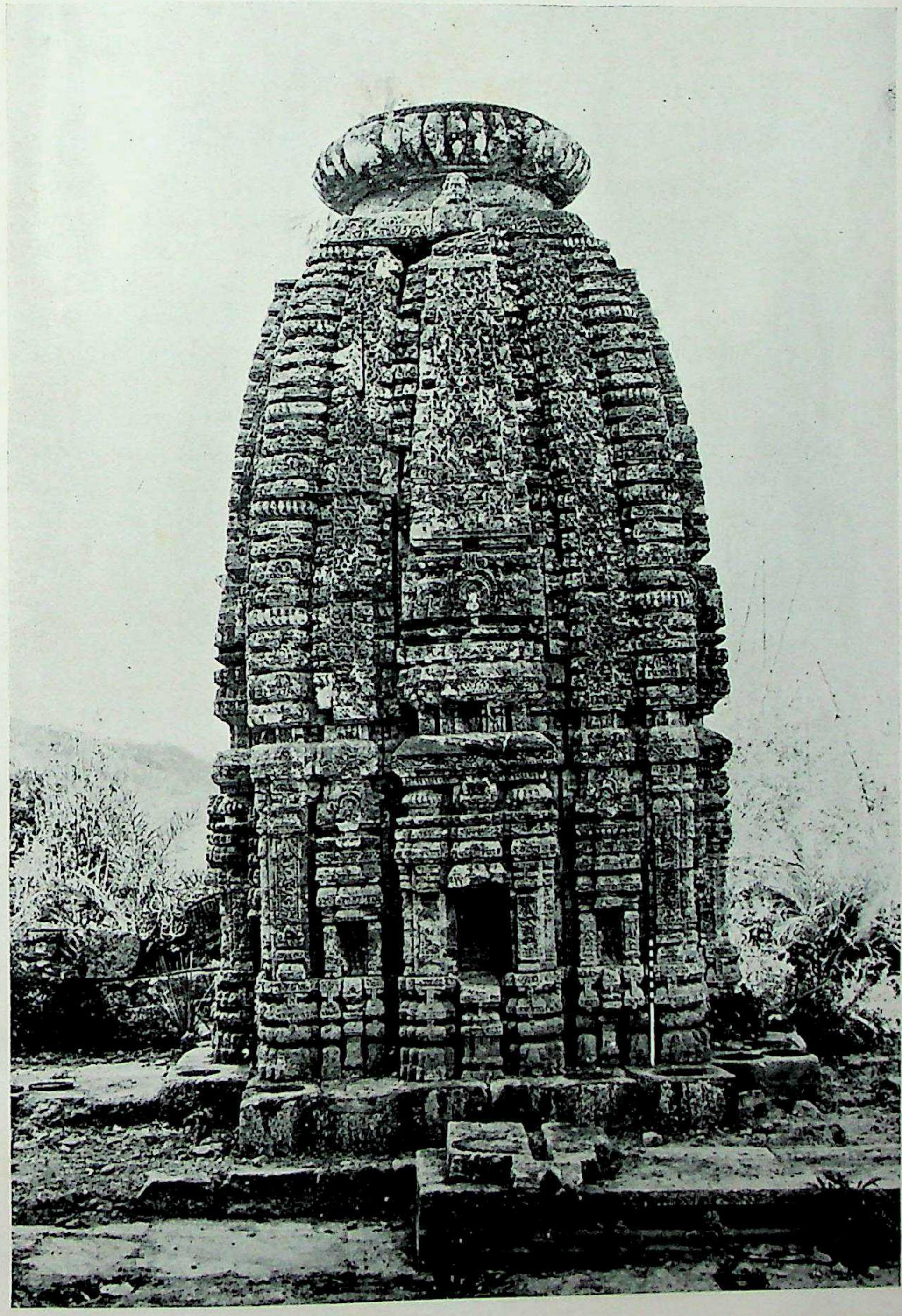
As already noted, the south-eastern subsidiary shrine (about 15 ft. high) is the best-preserved of the three, but the front *rāhā* of this temple is bereft of its facing stones. It is *pañcha-ratha* in plan, though the projection of the *anuratha* is not very conspicuous. The *bāḍa* has three divisions. The *pābhāga*, the lowest division, consists of four mouldings—*khurā*, *kumbha*, *khurā* and inverted *khurā*—having bands carved with creeper-patterns and pendants of flowers. The decoration of the *jāṅgha* form a regular scheme: the corner *ratha* is in the form of a pilaster with creepers and scroll-work in between two sets of three ornamental mouldings each; beaded pendants may be seen falling from the bottom of the lowest moulding of the upper set; the intermediary *rathas* have been fashioned each in the likeness of an ornate *khākharā* temple with a niche containing a figure; the central projection on each side, made after a temple and truncated after the first *bhūmi* has a niche for the *pārśvadevatā*, none of which is now extant; the *baraṇḍa* is a single *khurā*-shaped moulding relieved with bands of creepers and *chaitya*-windows; above this is a recessed frieze demarcating the *bāḍa* from the *gaṇḍi*. The frieze depicts figures, in various attitudes and rôles, including a seated figure of Buddha.

Of the five *pagas* of the *gaṇḍi*, the corner ones are divided into five planes by rectangular *bhūmi-amlās*, crowning a set of four *khurā*-shaped *bhūmi-baraṇḍis*. The latter are decorated with bands of creepers and *chaitya*-windows. The *anuratha*, as in the Mukteśvara temple of Bhubaneswar, has an intricate, but clear-cut interlacing of *chaitya*-windows, rivalling in fineness delicate filigree work. The *rāhā* has the same motif above the design resembling the top of a *khākharā*-shrine, a prominent feature of this design being a lavishly carved *chaitya*-window. The projecting lion, an invariable element of the later temples of Orissa, is absent. The *bisama* bears carvings resembling those of *bhūmi-baraṇḍis* and partakes of the *paga*-projections. Above the *beki* is the *amlā* supported on the heads of pot-bellied *gaṇas*, seated on the top of the *rāhās*. The crowning elements, above the flattish *khapuri*, is missing.

The temple measures 7 ft. 7½ in. by 7 ft. 6 in. externally and 3 ft. 8 in. by 3 ft. 7 in. internally. The *garbha-muda* is a single slab placed above two corbels. The enshrined image is missing.

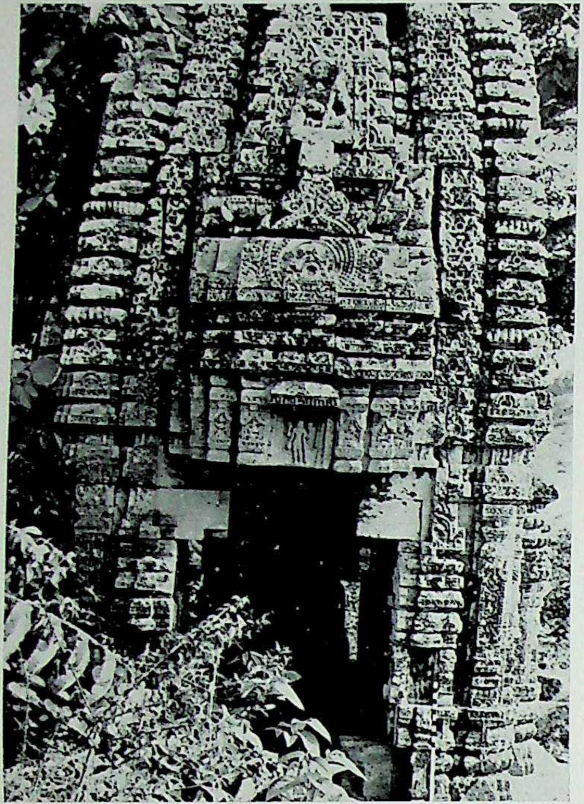
In geneal configuration, effective disposition of the different component elements, graceful proportions and in the exquisite array of profuse yet refined embellishments it closely resembles the celebrated Mukteśvara temple of Bhubaneswar. As in the lattei the edges of the projections and corners have been treated in such a manner that the *śikhara* presents a softened contour. There is a very close affinity between the two, not only in the selection of motifs but also in luxurious treatment of the exterior walls, both displaying an æsthetic sense of no mean order, though the effect is more captivating and the treatment more sensitive in the Mukteśvara temple, mostly due to the superior skill of the artist and partly to the fine-grained sandstone of reddish variety, a most suitable medium for finished expression, to which khondalite stands in poor comparison. Belonging to one common conception both were evidently of the same period.

The other two temples are duplicate copies of the one just described. The south-western temple, however, still retains the major portion of the front *rāhā-paga* of the *gaṇḍi*, which is more projected than the remaining *rāhās*. In the niche (immediately above the missing door-frame) of its *khākharā-muṇḍi* is a four-armed standing image of Vishṇu holding in the lower left a *gadā* (mace), in the upper left a *śaṅkha* (conch-shell) and in the upper right a *chakra* (wheel), the lower right in *varada* having a tiny lotus-mark on the palm. The arrangement of the attributes in the hands follows the order suited to Janārdana as enjoined in the *Agni-Purāṇa*, *Rūpamaṇḍana* and *Chaturvarga-Chintāmaṇi* of Hemādri, but to Vāsudeva according to the *Padma-Purāṇa*. On the top of the *khākharā-muṇḍi* is a seated figure holding a staff-like object (*triśūla?*) in its left hand. Immediately below this, flanking the top of the

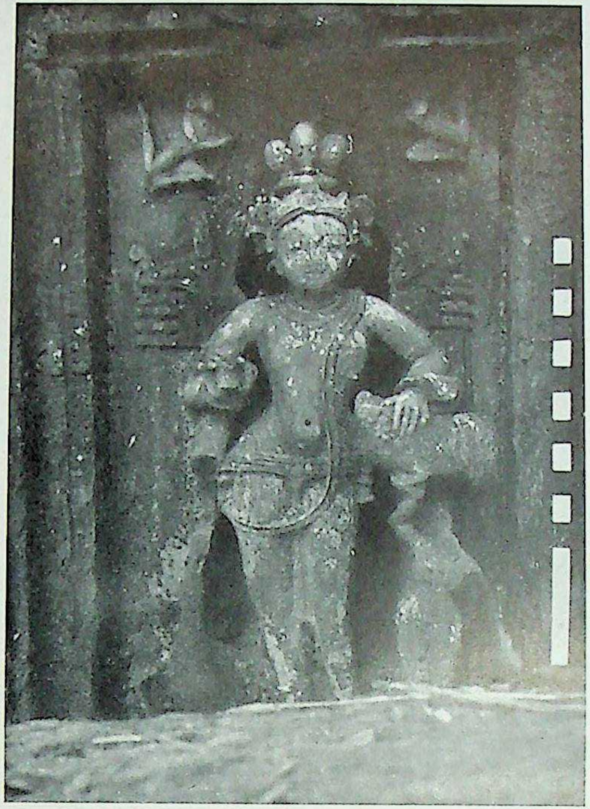


5. Ganeswarpur : Panca-Pandava Temple, South-Eastern Shrine.

By courtesy of Archaeological Survey of India.



6. Ganeswarpur : Panca-Pandava Temple, South-Western Shrine.



7. Ganeswarpur : Siva Temple, Image of Karttikeya.

By courtesy of Archaeological Survey of India.

chaitya-window motif is a rider. The interior of the chamber above the *garbha-muda* of the north-eastern temple is partly visible; its eastern and western walls have each five corbels, above which is the *bisama*-ceiling made of two stone slabs.[5]

References

1. Spelt Jāluka in Survey of India Topographical sheet 73 $\frac{L}{2}$.
2. The village, as the crow flies, is 17½ miles south-west of Ratnagiri.
3. Lalitagiri and Udayagiri lie respectively at a distance of 11 and 13 miles, as the crow flies. The low khondalite hill (locally known as Navar-poḍiyā adjoining the village of Rameshwar) containing the ruins of a Buddhist establishment is three miles south-west of Ganeswarpur.
4. *Matsya-Purāṇa*, *adhyāya* 258, *śloka* 15 (Ānandaśrama Press ed., p. 528).
5. The photographs published here are the copyright of the Department of Archaeology, Government of India.

Illustrations

1. Ganeswarpur: Śiva Temple, Jagamohana (p. 290).
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HOUSE-BUILDING RITUALS IN ANCIENT INDIA

AMITA RAY

IN all primitive societies one finds in observance certain rites and rituals connected with the laying of foundation of and first entrance to dwelling houses. Such rites and rituals seem to have been later adopted and integrated by civilised and sophisticated societies. In India at any rate we find that such rituals had been in vogue already from the time represented by the *Ṛg-Veda* and the *Atharva-Veda*. Gradually they became a part and parcel of brahmanical rituals as exemplified by the Gṛihya Sūtras, and are practised even today not only in the villages but in towns as well by relatively more educated and sophisticated social groups. Presumably these rituals, which are many and various in different parts of this vast country, were adopted from more primitive societies and were eventually integrated into the brahmanical socio-religious pattern, with later additions and accretions.

An analysis of the rituals of primitive social groups reveal that originally such practices were intended to propitiate the evil spirits that were supposed to haunt a *vāstu* or a site selected for the building of dwelling houses for human beings. They were also intended for invocations of spirits that were supposed to protect the buildings and their inmates from natural calamities, disease and death. Some of the rites were also of magical significance and not unoften connected with fertility cults. This will be evident as we proceed to describe a few of the rites.

Gradually such rites and rituals were clothed in brahmanical ideology with prayers and incantations invoking the gods for peace, protection, prosperity and happiness of the house itself and its inmates. But through all these the primitive attitude of propitiating a *vāstupati* and other evil spirits who were supposed to lord over a chosen site, never failed to peep through.

In this paper an attempt is being made to describe, in brief, some of the rites and rituals connected with the building and entering of a new house (*Gṛhapratishthā* and *Gṛha-praveśa*) to enable us to have any idea of the socio-religious background against which early Indian building and settlement-planning activities have to be studied and understood. With this end in view it is proposed to describe the rituals that we find in observance amongst some of the primitive tribes of India. These descriptions are only illustrative; no attempt is being made to be exhaustive so far as the tribes are concerned. This would be followed by a reference to these rituals that are found alluded to in earliest Sanskrit texts like the *Vedas* and the *Brāhmaṇas* and later, in other Sanskrit hieratic and literary texts. Finally some references will be made to practices that are found current today amongst Brahmanical Hindus. Incidentally, this paper is intended to illustrate the continuity of house-building rituals in India from very early times to the present day. It will be observed that no reference is being made to rites and rituals that were observed in connection with the foundation and consecraton of religious edifices which, however, follow more or less the same principles.

The Todas

The Todas represent one of the earlist primitive tribes of India—a unique tribe of pastoral semi-nomads, living only in the Nilgiri hills. Generally, the Todas intending to build a *Mand* and *Mad* (hamlet), will select two or three sites and seek the advice of the priest about the best site. Once the site is selected they will go to their shrine early in the morning and offer *pūjā* to their deities, the chief of whom is *dharmar* (Cf. *dharma pūjā* current among the Santhals of West Bengal). The offerings consist of buffallo milk, honey and cooked rice served on small *tedu* leaves. The *pūjās* start before sunrise and take about 4 to 5 hours. The priest offers prayers and selects an auspicious day. On the specific day, before sunrise, they go to the selected site where a body of about 15 or 16 bury three pieces of wood, measuring about two inches, from a *pal* tree at the centre of the proposed site. He also buries coins and nails, both at the front and rear limits of the proposed hut which is to face the east. Offers are then made again to *Dharmar*. This is followed by a community feast and community singing and dancing.

When finished, these huts are occupied after usual ceremonies. An auspicious day is selected; early in the morning they go to the newly built *mand* with offerings of rice, milk, honey, flower etc., and *pūjā* is offered to *Dharmar*. Women first enter the house followed by men. Food is then cooked in the huts and a feast follows, in which members of the community take part. This is followed by community singing and dancing.[1]

The Nagas

The Nagas are one of the most primitive tribes of India, least affected by civilisation. Naga villages are fenced and every house-owner has his separate dwelling. The building of a new house of a villager is attended by certain ceremonies which are elaborate in the case of the chief of the clan and simple in that of an ordinary villager.

The Anagami Naga places two flat stones on the sites selected for the building. If a lucky dream favours him during the night that follows, he with his wife goes to the site next evening taking fire, fuel, a fowl and food along with them. There they take their food. This has to be followed by another lucky dream the following night; otherwise the site would be rejected. When the building of the house is completed, the fire is brought from the *kika-kep-fuma*[2] of one who has performed the *lesu-genna*[3] and who has horns on the roof of his house. But if there is no *kika-kep-fuma*, fire can be brought from a house where no death has taken place.

More elaborate rituals are observed in certain other villages. At the site selected for the purpose of building a house, the master makes a hearth, by the side of which he places two pieces of thatching grass and little rice-beer. The *kemove*[4] and the *kika-kep-fuma* must also be placed on the site. It is obligatory on all those present at the ceremony to help the master in building the house. The middle post is fixed first and when the house frame is ready, the master dressed in ceremonial clothes enter the house carrying a fire and a spear. Three days later thatch is placed on the roof, and five days are observed as *genna* by the owner and his wife. During this period, they take only rice beer and offer the same to the visitors and the guests.[5]

The Sema Nagas,[6] at the time of erecting a new house or of remodelling of an old one, observe certain rites, the extent of which depends on whether it is a house of the chief or that of an ordinary villager. In the latter case, the builder must observe the *genna* at least three days during which period, he cannot speak to anybody, nor is he allowed to feed any person. But if the house is to belong to the chief, he has to observe some ceremonial rites at the time of the foundation of the site and the erection of the front post. A hole is dug to take the front post; a chicken is then killed in the hole and the front post is put upon the body of the chicken. The same day, the owner again kills a fat cock, especially of red colour, by hitting it on the post and uttering the following verse—"May you (the post) have a long life, let dogs increase; let pigs be multiplied, let riches increase; let illness and death be forbidden."

The thatching of the roof of the Sema Chief's house also seems to have a ritualistic significance. The first sheaf of straw on the front side of the roof is placed by the leading warrior of the village. He is followed by a second and a third warrior. The three warriors then share a pig which had been killed the day before.

The Ao Naga[7]

When an Ao Naga wants to build a new house he first selects a site and then finds out from a medicine-man if the site would prove to be a lucky one for him. The medicine-man visits the site and gives his answer after contacting the spirits living there. If the answer is favourable for the owner, the medicine-man names an old man whose customary offerings would be acceptable to the said spirits. The old man then performs the ceremony by offering six leaves of rice and six leaves of meat and ginger and six cups of rice-beer. After this he takes a fowl and plucks it alive and says, "Let this house site be fortunate. Let there be no sickness or illness. Let there be no headache or stomach-ache. Let fine boys and girls be born." He then cuts the fowl by a sharp piece of bamboo and from the entrails he predicts the general fortune of the master and his wife and also of their children. After the ceremony is over, the site is then left vacant for three days and if within this period, all the food kept there are not eaten up by a village pig, or a wild or any other animal, the site must be rejected.

Materials are generally collected some days before the actual ceremony takes place. They believe that unless bamboos and thatching grass are cut during the dark period of the dark moon or immediately after full moon, insects might attack them. The builders then start their work. In the beginning, the lines of the walls are marked out and the posts are put up. According to *Chengli* custom, an egg is cracked against the pillar which is erected first and the following words are uttered—"If fire catches this house, may it become water. Let there be no illness and sickness here." After that he eats the contents of the egg and ties the shell on the post.

The Garos

The Garos celebrate the building of a new house by a sacrifice, which is followed by a house-warming feast. A number of house dedicatory songs are current among them; these songs are sung on such occasions. The guests assembled sit in two rows in the principal room of the new house and each one of them in turn gets up and dances between the rows as he sings the song. At intervals, the other guests join in with a chorus which seems to consist mainly of the repetition of the sound 'ka' or 'kai', which means 'to tie' or 'bind'. It is evident that the refrain of the song is but a magical exhortation to the spirits to tie or bind firmly the component parts of the house.[8]

The Santals

When the Santals, who live collectively, want to select a new site for the laying out of a village, three or four men with a leader (whom they call *ojhā*) proceed to the forest. If they see a quail flying over the site tentatively chosen, the site will be rejected outright. They believe that the village raised on that site would one day be deserted. But if they see any *bird* sitting on its eggs at the site, or a tiger, or the foot marks of the latter, they consider it a lucky site and proceed to raise the village there. But before they do so, the *ojhā* examines the site further by first isolating the site by five vermilion marks. Close to these marks he puts some sun dried rice and an earthen pot full of water. At a little distance, a couple or two of white fowls are tied up in a row. Next morning they return to investigate the scene; if they find the fowls to have shed no feather and the water in the earthen pot undiminished, then the site is considered to be auspicious without doubt. But if it is otherwise the site would be regarded as ill-fated.

After the selection of the site, they dig a hole and fill it up again with the earth dug out, to test the stability and fertility of the soil. If the hole to be filled up, takes the exact amount of earth dug out, then the site is believed auspicious and capable of yielding abundant crops. Otherwise it will be rejected as inauspicious.

So far as the individual building is concerned, a low closet is built in one corner of the house to provide a separate dwelling place for the ancestors. In the closet rice and beer are offered regularly to the ancestors and to the house *boṅgā*. No woman of the family, nor even the married daughter of the family, is permitted to enter it.[9]

The Oraons

When the Oraon wishes to build a new house, he goes, one evening, to the intended spot and throws a few grains of rice on the ground. Next morning he comes back for investigation and if he finds that the grains have disappeared, the site would be considered as an undesirable one, though not extremely bad. If the rice remains intact, the site will be finally chosen as an auspicious one and ground would be marked around the rice grains before the cottage is started being built. At the time of entering a new house, the Oraon gives a feast to the fellow tribesmen of the village.[10]

The brief description given above of tribal house-building rites would serve, it is believed, as a proper background of cognate and similar rites recognised by organised Brahanism and Hinduism and recorded in texts beginning from the

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Vedas right through the Purāṇas and Āgamas; the Śilpaśāstras not excluded.

The *Ṛg-Veda* contains frequent mention of *Vāstupati* or lord of the *Vāstu*,[11] i.e., dwelling house. In several hymns, the celebration of the *Vāstoshpati* is referred to, and the indication is that a firm post which is the symbol of the *Vāstoshpati* is the centre of the celebration.[12] The spirit of the *Vāstoshpati* is invoked and the firm post is supposed to keep off the calamity. The *Atharva-Veda* too has a series of hymns pertaining to *Vāstoshpati*, entitled *Vāstoshpatyāni*.[13] A particular hymn is recited while the central post is being fixed. A stanza in the hymn referred to, mentions the placing of the cross-beam upon the post, when the following prayer is recited. —"Do thou oh cross-beam, ascend the post according to regulation; do thou mighty ruling, hold off the enemies. May they that approach thee reverently, oh house, not suffer injury; may all our heroes live a hundred autumn".[14] Here in this chapter almost all the hymns pray frequently for the happiness, prosperity and abundance of the dwellers. Thus in one hymn addressed to the *Vāstoshpati*, we read,:—"a supporter art thou, oh house, with broad roof containing purified grain. To thee may the calf come, to thee the child, to thee the milch cow...oh mistress of dwelling, clothed in grass, be thou kindly disposed, give us moreover wealth along with heroes...hither to this house hath come the tender child, hither the calf along with the other domestic animals, hither the vessel full of liquor, together with bowls of sour milk."[15] When the house was ready for occupation, the master and his wife entered the house with a pitcher full of water and with the immortal fire.

Reference to this old Vedic deity, *Vāstoshpati*,[16] is also made by Pāṇini as the presiding deity of *Vāstu* or homestead. In one of the Jātaka stories, a prince is described as performing the consecration ceremony (*pāsāda maṅgalam*) of a new palace.[17] In another story, the ceremony of entering a new house is described as *geha-pavessana*.[18] But unfortunately no description of the ceremony is given.

In the *Rāmāyaṇa*, Rāmachandra is said to have performed *Vāstu-paśmana* ceremony and the animal sacrifice (*vaiśadeva-vali*) connected wth it, when he built even a temporary structure in the shape of a small cottage on the Chitrakuṭa hill.[19] In the *Mahābhārata* too, we are told that sacrificial rites were performed at the time of the construction of a new house; these rites were called *śānti* or *maṅgala*.[20]

In all the evidences cited above, it will be noticed that there are significant parallels with cognate rites practised by primitive tribes in India, for example, animal sacrifice connected with the fixing of the firm post, bringing fire into the house, incantations of prayer for prosperity and happiness to the *Vāstu* spirits, etc.

The most elaborate references to house-building rites and rituals are however found in the Gṛhya Sūtras which may be said to constitute a full picture of Brahmanical practices in this respect, practices that have come down to this day. Various ceremonies regarding the site and the construction and entering of a new house are given in the different sections of these *sūtras*. In the *Sāṅkhyāyana Gṛhya Sūtra*, for example, one finds that when a man wishes to have a house built, he draws with the branch of an *udumbara* tree three times a line round the selected spot with the following incantations: "Here I include the dwelling for the sake of food . . . this branch of the immortal one (the *udumbara* tree is a recognised fertility symbol) I erect, a stream of honey, promoting wealth. The child, the young one, cries to it; the cow shall flock to it, the increasingly fertile one".[21] He then puts an *udumbara* branch besmeared with *ghee*, into the pit which has been dug for the right post. The same verse is repeated for the erection of the left door post. The prayer is not only for wealth and happiness, but also for protection from calamities and destruction, which is as follows: 'May the malevolent ones not reach these'.[22] In another verse[23] the master of the house in introducing and placing the fire in the hearth, recites : 'Do no harm to us, to the old nor the young; be a saviour to us to men and animals'. The post in the different directions are supposed to signify different meanings : "The two posts to the east, truth and faith; these to the south, sacrifice and gift; those to the West, strength and power; those to the north, the *brāhmaṇa* and *kshatra*." The pinnacle of the house is named as fortune while the firm post is called the law.[25]

When the sacrifice is over, the master of the house establishes the sacred fire and recites *mantras* which are but prayers to the *Vāstoshpati* for protection of the members of his family from sorrows and calamities and for peace and prosperity. The master then enters the house taking with him his wife and eldest son carrying grains, uttering at the same time a prayer to the following effect: "Indra's house is blessed, wealthy and protecting; that I enter with my wife and with offsprings, with cattles, with increase of wealth, with everything that is mine".[26] "I enter the blesseth, the joyful house which does not bring death to men and which is also rich in men. Bringing refreshment dropping ghee, I shall joyfully rest".[27]

There are similar descriptions of rituals in other Gṛhya Sūtra texts as well, sometimes in greater elaboration, as for example, in the *Āśvalāyana Gṛhya Sūtra*.[28] But since the principle is the same, it may suffice to summarise the rituals as detailed in the *Āśvalāyana* and omit the rest.

The *Aśvalāyana Gṛhya Sūtra* speaks elaborately of the selection of the site and examination of the gound. The text recommends that the land which is not barren or disputed and contains herbs (*oshadhī*), large trees (*vanaspati*) and *kuśa* and *viriṇa* grass, should be selected for the construction of the dwelling house. Thorny and juicy trees and bushes of *apamārga*, *tilvaka*, *parivyādha* etc., should be throughly uprooted and thrown away. The selected site should be high on all sides, slightly low in the middle and sloping towards the east. The different buildings should be constructed in the middle of the site with the bedroom in the east, the kitchen a little further to the east or south-east of the bedroom, and the drain along the northern side. According to some, the *sabhā-gṛha* should be built in the north, but preferably, according to Āśvalāyana, in the middle of the site.

The treatise recommends further that a knee-deep hole should be dug in the site and the hole should be filled in with the earth dug out from it. The site will be considered good or auspicious if a quantity of the earth remains surplus after filling the hole, and bad, if the quantity of the earth fails to fill up the hole. Then at dusk, the hole, after removing the earth, should be filled with water. If, in the next morning, the hole still contains some quantity of water, the site will be considered good, if the hole is just soaked with water, that is, wet, the site is mediocre, and if dry altogether, it will be considered bad.

The selected site should be thoroughly ploughed and a square or rectangular plot, east-west-wise long, should be measured out. Then after reciting the *Śāntanīya hymn*,[29] the householder should go thrice round the site and sprinkle water on it, first with the branch of the *śamī* or *udumbara* tree and then with continuous flow of water after reciting the group of the three *Riks* beginning with "*āpo-hi-stha mayobhuvaḥ*".[30] Less important rooms like inner appartments should be built on the space between two beams (*vaṁsa*) and separated from each other by walls. *Avakā* and *sīpāla* should be put inside the holes that are intended to take the posts of the house; they are supposed to protect the house from fire. The middle-post should then be sprinkled with water mixed with *vṛīhi* or *yava* with the mantra: "*Achyutāya bhaumāya svāhā*". Simultaneously the following *mantra* should also be uttered: "May our riches not be squandered; *Vāstoshpati*, a firm post thou, drive away calamity".[31] Then the middle-most post should be placed in the hole along with the *mantras*: "*Thaiva tishtha tilvilas*" etc., and "*Ā tvā prāpannaghāvavaḥ*" etc. The beam should be placed on the middle-most post with the *mantra*: "*Etena sthūnam adhiroha vaṁsa*" etc. *Durvā* grass should then be placed on four slabs of stone and then *maṇikā* (water jar) should be placed on it along with the mantra, "*Prithivyādhi sambhava*" or with *Araṅgaro vāvaditi* etc. Then water should be sprinkled on it with the *mantra* "*Etu Rājā Varuṇo*" etc. Then the ceremony of *Vāstu-śānti* should be performed thus:

A piece of gold should be put in water mixed with *vṛīhi* and *yava* and then water should be sprinkled after going thrice around the *vāstu* along with the recitation of the *Śāntanīya hymn*. Next an incessent flow of water should be maintained along with the mantra "*Āpohistha mayobhuvaḥ*". *Sthalikaka* should then be cooked in the house; four oblations should be offered with the four *Riks* beginning with "*vāstoshpate pritijanihyasman*"[32] etc., and then Brahmins should be fed and they should utter '*śivaṁ vāstu, śivaṁ vāstu*'. Then the house-holder enters the newly built house with his eldest son and wife carrying rains and utter the same *mantras* as referred to above in the *Śānkhyāyana Gṛhyasūtra*.

More or less similar practices and rites are detailed in the *Pāraskara* and *Gobhila Gṛhysūtras.*[33]

It is interesting to note that the Saṁhitās, as for example, the *Vājasaneyī* and the *Taittirīya*,[34] refer to invocations or prayers to the earth begging her to stand firm for the well-being of the house-holder. The *Bṛihatsaṁhitā*[35] recommends the same practice of pouring water into the hole dug into the soil. According to this later text, the soil is to be examined also by putting fire into the pit. The fire may burn or go out; if it burns, then the soil is good; if not, the site should be abandoned.

Reference to elaborate house-building rituals are also made in the Purāṇas, but the most detailed description is found in the *Matsya Purāṇa*,[36] which may briefly be summarised. It recommends the laying of the foundation of a house on an auspicious day, which should not be in the month of *Chaitra* or *Jyaistha* or *Bhādra* or *Āśvin* or *Pausha* and not on Sundays and Tuesdays. The months of *Vaiśākha*, *Āṣāḍha*, *Śrāvaṇa*, *Kārtika*, *Agrahāyaṇa*, *Māgha* and *Phālguna* are considered to be good. The examination of the soil and selection of the site should precede the foundation of the house. It also recommends the examination of the soil by digging a hole and filling it with earth as described in the Gṛhya-Śūtras. Another mode of examination of the land is by getting the land ploughed and by sowing some seeds on the ploughed ground. The ground is considered good if the seeds sprout and become big within seven days; but if they are not sufficiently big, the site should be abandoned. The *Matsya Purāṇa* also recommends certain tests for classification of the soil according to castes, which means some sites are good for *Brāhmaṇas*, some for *Kshatriyas* and certain others for *Vaiśyas* and still certain other for the *Śūdras*.

When all the testings are over, the ground is to be washed by *pañcha gavya* (cowdung and urine, honey, milk, curd and *pāyasa* or rice pudding) and sprinkled with medicinal water. If the owner feels an itching sensation while the foundation is being laid, it would mean that there must be some foreign matter under the ground, which should at once be removed. The *Matsya Purāṇa*[37] prescribes that there should be no construction of a dwelling house near a temple or close to the house of a wicked man or to that of a minister. The house should not be very near the crossing of the four ways, which is supposed to bring misery and unhappiness to the dwellers. The same text refers to a number of ominous signs which should be taken care of by the house-holder in choosing a site and laying the foundation of the building.

Reference to similar rites and rituals are also to be found, and this in a more elaborate manner, in such texts as the *Mānasāra*,[38] the *Samarāṅgana Sūtradhara*,[39] the *Mayamata*[40] and the *Yuktikalpataru*.[41] They follow in the main the principles laid down in the Gṛhya Sūtras. For our purpose, therefore, it is no more necessary to refer to them.

But a passing reference should be made to current Brahmanical practices in house-building rites as well as to certain popular rites and rituals gone through by villagers even today, at least in one Indian State, namely Bengal, to enable us find out the extent of the continuity of the primitive tradition as well as the hieratic one as referred to in the Brahmanical texts.

It is not in the least curious that current Brahmanical practices follows in the main not only the principle but also the rites detailed in the Gṛhya Sūtras and the Purāṇas, the only difference being that changed conditions of today have necessitated certain changes in the actual ceremonies. But such changes are not of any real significance. Since the availability of land suitable for dwelling purposes is restricted by conditions over which modern man has little control, the rites connected with the selection or choice of land are observed but little. But a systematic process as laid down in earlier texts is followed right from the beginning of the laying of the foundation up to the entering of the newly built house. In certain parts of India, however, people attach a great deal of importance to the month which is chosen for starting the construction of a house. In this matter people usually follow the Puranic prescription as given in the *Matsya Purāṇa* referred to above, but in certain parts of the country, the three months beginning from *Bhādra*, are considered particularly auspicious, since the *Nāga* (*Vāsuki*) who holds the earth on its heads, is supposed to lie asleep on the left side during these months placing his heads towards the east.[42] Before the actual construction begins, a small hole is dug in some place of the intended site; the hole is then filled in with cow-dung and then all the gods including the *Vāstoshpati* are worshipped. The priest then prays to the goddess Earth for good fortune, sons and prosperity for the house-holder. He also prays on behalf of the master of the house for offering him a space under the sun and for success in his efforts.[43] The priest along with house-holder then goes round the hole and fixes four posts around it; an unbroken brick is then placed inside the hole by way of laying the foundation; the brick is then covered over with *durvā* grass, curd, flower, betel-leaf and clods of earth. As the foundation is being laid the priest utters the following *mantras*: "*Yathā-chalo girir Meru Himayānścha yathā chaloh*! *śubhāya bho grihastambha tathā tvamachalobhaya*![44]" (just as the mount Meru and the Himavān are steadfast and immovable, so, oh the house-post, you too be auspicious and immovable.)"

In the villages of Bengal, the common village folk follow more or less the same practices, especially in connection with the laying of the foundation. But it will be seen from the description that follows that, in respect of the *Gṛhapraveśa* rites, there are certain elements which are not included in the hieratic texts or in the Brahmanical calenders.

Before entering the house, the master offers worship to and seeks blessings of his forefathers as well as permission from them to enter the house. Sacrifices are offered to the spirits who are requested to free the site from their evil influences. For this purpose the main articles that constitute the sacrificial offering are turmeric or *haridrā*, mustard seed or *sarishā* and ginger or *adraka*. Rice-pudding is then placed in a small hole dug for the purpose in the front yard of the house, which presumably constitute the offering to the *Vāstu*.[45] An earthen lamp is then placed inside the hole, which is supposed to burn for the whole day. Worship is then offered to the various deities, after which the master with his wife and the eldest son enters the house by holding the tail of a cow. At the door-front of the house is placed a pitcher full of water and holding mango leaves. The wife of the master carries a pitcher full of water on the left arm and winnowing basket on her head, on which is placed paddy, milk, curd, honey, a lamp, five kinds of seeds and two pieces of gold and silver. It is obvious that all these objects are symbols of plenty and prosperity and purport to be the distant memories of practices connected with sympathetic magic. In certain parts of Bengal, the lady of the house also carries a fish-basket in her right hand. Some people also circumbulate the house three or seven times before entering the lady of the house also carries a fish-basket in her right hand. Some people also circumbulate the house three or seven times before entering it. Immediately after the house is entered into, the master or a priest on his behalf, offers worship to the *Vāstoshpati* for the prosperity and well-being of all the dwellers.

Even a casual scrutiny of house-building rites and rituals, as given above, will show that the more fundamentals of them are common to tribal, Brahmanical sacredotal and hieratic, Brahmanical current and folk practices in the villages. In all these, carrying and establishment of fire to and at the site and inside of the building, offering the sacrifices to the spirits and the lord of the *Vāstu*, the firm post symbolising the *Vāstoshpati*, the hole and filling it in with earth or slabs of stone or brick, entering the house with wife and eldest son and what is most important, articulated pray-er for wealth, prosperity, happiness and security are common to all levels and stages of society. One may not, therefore, find any real difficulty in assuming that similar rites and rituals were observed in the selection of sites, laying of the foundation and entering the house throughout the centuries until recent times. The phrases "*Pāsādamaṅgalam*" and *geha-pavessana*, mentioned in the Pāli texts, may, therefore, be understood better in this context.

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SYMBOLISM IN ANCIENT INDIAN MARRIAGE RITUALS

NILAKSHI SENGUPTA

IT is quite clear from a critical study of the Vedas and Gṛhyasūtras that the total life of the Vedic Aryans was a round of rituals; one's life was indeed a long series of rites and rituals from birth to cremation.

As regards marriage, the rites and rituals of the *Ṛgveda* appear to have been very simple. In the Gṛhyasūtras the rites and rituals are amplified by additions and adapatations. But the Sūtras maintain the general framework of Vedic rituals. In every phase of the marriage ceremonial, all the acts, even the most insignificant, are considered to bring forth auspicious results and raised to the status of rituals.

There are certain rites in the Gṛhyasūtras which are mainly symbolical. In ancient societies symbolism everywhere played an important part in human life. The rites are easily perceived to be symbolical and we may therefore investigate their meaning on this basis. If we compare the Indian symbolic rites with the rites of the Indo-European countries or primitive tribes we find some similarity of ideas. These rites, however, are not always performed to gain a definite result. The satisfaction is in having performed a ritual or religious duty. In the performance of the rite the performer feels that he has made a small contribution, which it is both his privilege and duty to do, to the maintenance of that order of the universe of which man and nature are independent parts.[1]

Sometimes we find that the same symbol is used in different contexts or on different occasions. But there is a common element of meaning and by comparing together the various uses of a few such symbols we may be able to discover what this common element is.

Selection of the Bride

The Gṛhyasūtras recommend the selection of the bride by means of earth clods.[2] Such earth-clods are to be gathered from an altar, a furrow, a pool, a cow-stable, a gambling place, a place where corpses are burnt, from sterile soil and from a place where four roads meet. The ninth clod is a mixture of all. The girl is asked to pick up one of the clods. If she chooses one of the first four clods or the mixed one she is considered to be lucky. If she chooses the lump of earth taken from a field that yields two crops in one year, her offspring will be rich in food; if from the earth of a *vedī* (altar), rich in holy lustre; if from a pool which does not dry up, rich in everything; if from a gambling place, addicted to gambling; if from a place where four roads meet, wondering to different directions; if from a barren spot, poor; while if she chooses the earth from a burial ground she will bring death to her husband.

Among the Indo-European peoples there are also similar practices. In Norway, bridegroom puts three bottles on the table at Christmas, one containing water, one beer, and one wine. Then the future bride is asked to drink according to her choice. If she drinks water she will be poor. If she drinks beer, they will get on well together, and if she drinks wine they will be rich.[3]

Rites of throwing grains

The practice frequently mentioned in the Sūtras of throwing grains is presumably a fertility rite.

When the wooers come to the bride's home they bring with them flowers, fruits, barley and a pot of water. When the matter pleases both the parties they touch the full vessels, into which has been put flowers, fried grains, fruits, barley and gold, and the priest of the family puts the full vessel on the bride's head.[4]

The throwing of different kind of cereals or fruits by the bride and bridegroom is also found in the later stages of marriage rituals.

The bath water of the bride is mixed with *khīlaka* barley and beans, according to the *Gobhila Gṛhysūtra*.[5] According to the *Sāṅkhyāyana Gṛhysūtra*[6] the bath of the bride takes place on the eve of her departure from her husband's home. The same recommends that the girl is to be washed upto her head with water that has been made fragrant by all sorts of herbs and choicest fruits together with scents. All these seeds and herbs were evidently used as symbols of fertility.

The *Lājahoma* or sacrifice with fried grains is symbolical of fertility and prosperity. The brother of the bride pours out of his joined palms into her joined palms fried grains mixed with *śami* leaves. The bride sacrifices them in the sacred fire with firmly joined palms. Again after the rite of *saptapadī* or taking the seven steps before their departure, the relations pour seeds of rice etc. on the heads of the bridegroom and bride.[7]

This marriage rite can be closely traced to all primitive Indo-Europeans. The custom of throwing grains or fruits on the bride and the bridegroom is very well known and practised throughout South-east Asia and the Far East and is well known in modern Europe and America, where the grain is usually replaced by paper 'confetti'. Among the Mundas the bridegroom throws three handfuls of rice at the forehead of the bride and the bride next throws three handfuls of rice at the forehead of the bridegroom.[9]

In ancient[10] Rome nuts were thrown by the bridegroom for the boys present at the wedding ceremony. But Mannhardt suggests that they were originally thrown over the bride and only gathered up by the boys.

According to Mannhardt such practices originated from a feeling of a sympathetic connection between the fruit of the body and of corn.[11] Westermarck[12] suggests that the purpose of throwing these articles on the bridal pair is also to secure prosperity to the couple after their marriage, especially with regard to the bearing of children in their family in successive generations, and the idea of promoting the material welfare of the couple must have been present in the minds of those who initiated the rites.

Kindling the Fire by attrition

According to the Gṛhyasūtras there should be fire on the following five occasions:—the wedding, the tonsure of the child's head, the initiation of the Brahmachārin, the cutting of the beard and the parting of the hair. According to some teachers the fire used in the marriages should be kindled by the bridegroom by rubbing.[13]

Many primitive people see in the working of the fire drill an analogy to the intercourse of the sexes, and accordingly they identify the upright pointed stick with the male organ. This symbolism is common among many African tribes. In Laongo public fires were kept perpetually burning during the king's reign and were extinguished at his death. When the new king came to the throne the new public fire was kindled by the friction of two sticks, regarded as male and female respectively which were done by a youth and a maiden. After performing the solemn function they were compelled to complete the analogy with the fire sticks by cohabiting with each other in public, after which they were buried alive.[14]

Unloosening knots and locks

According to the *Āśvalāyana Gṛhyasūtra*[15] the two knots of the bride's hair should be loosened by the bridegroom after the rite of stepping on the stone and walking round the fire. In the *Māṇava Gṛhysūtra*[16] the bridegroom after having drawn together the ends of the bride's garment with a rope of *darbha* grass, the bridegroom makes a knot. The rope with which the bride is girdled is loosened and fastened again.

The magical effect of knots in trammelling and obstructing human activity was believed to be manifest at marriage. During the Middle Ages and down to the 18th century it seems to have been commonly held in Europe that consummation of marriage could be prevented by any one who, while the wedding ceremony was taking place, threw either a locked padlock or a knotted cord into water; until this had been found and unlocked or untied, as the case may be, no union of the married couple was possible.[17]

Sitting on the red bull's hide

According to the *Atharva-veda* and the Gṛhyasūtras[18] after arriving at the home of the husband, and having placed the nuptial fire in the house, the bridegroom makes the bride sit on a red bull's hide and perform sacrifices. In

Roman marriage a victim was offered to a deity and the couple had to sit on the skin of the victim.[19] Among Slavonic peoples the couple used to sit on a fur.[20] This rite was presumably intended to promote fertility.

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THE IMPORT OF THE TERM "MACCOCALINGAE"

BRATINDRA NATH MUKHERJEE

MEGASTHENES (4th—3rd centuries B.C.), the Greek envoy to the court of Chandragupta Maurya, composed a book probably known as '*Ta Indika*'.[1] This work cannot be traced now, but quotations from it can be noticed in the volumes of early European writers. Pliny (1st century A.D.) borrowed many statements from Megasthenes for his compilation called the '*Historiae Naturalis*'.[2] The aim of the author of the present article is to examine one such statement, which contains a reference to a people called the Maccocalingae.

In course of his enumeration of the list of Indian races (*Catalogues Gentium Indicarum*)[3] in liber VI of his work, Pliny makes the following remarks.

"*Gentes, quas memorare non pigeat . . . Brachmanae, quorum Maccocalingae. . . . .*"[4]

This extract can be translated in the following way.

"The races, which we may enumerate without being tedious, (are) . . . . the Brachmanae, a name comprising of different tribes, among whom are the Maccocalingae".[5]

Slightly after mentioning the name of the Maccocalingae, Pliny refers to the Calingae.[6] As the Sanskritic base of the latter name is definitely '*Kaliṅgāḥ*', it is not unlikely that the Maccocalingae had some relations with the famous Kaliṅga tribe of ancient India.

Pliny seems to include the Maccocalingae within a federation of races called the Brachmanae. The latter name, however, probably means, as McCrindle observes, the 'Brāhmaṇa' caste, and not any race[7] or federation of races. This assumption of McCrindle can be proved with the help of the evidences of another source.

Ptolemy, in his *magnum opus*, called the *Geōgraphikē Huphēgēsis*,[8] refers to the 'Brakhmanai Magoi'.[9] The Indian base of the latter is universally taken to be the '*Brāhmaṇa Maga*'.

If so, the 'Brachmanae' of Megasthenes and Pliny should also denote the 'Brāhmaṇas'.

Thus Pliny seems to have committed a mistake in taking the term 'Brāhmaṇa', the name of a powerful caste, as the designation of a race or a federation of tribes. It is, however, possible that Pliny wanted to denote by the term 'Brachmanae,' several races, among which the men of the first caste were predominant; and the 'Maccocalingae' might have been amongst such peoples. But, as we are not sure as to whether the Brāhmaṇas formed the ruling class among the Maccocalingae, we should better accept the first hypothesis.

It has been suggested that the term 'Maccocalingae' stands for the name '*Mukhya Kaliṅgāḥ*'[10]. If so, this word should denote the chief Kaliṅga people. It is also observed that the memory of this people is still preserved in the name of town called Mukhaliṅgam. Thus the chief Kaliṅga tribe ruled in Mukhaliṅgam region. It is, however, extremely difficult to believe that the Calingae, i.e. the Kaliṅgas, who ruled over a vast coastal region (see below), were not considered to be the most powerful among the different tribes having similarities in names with them, and the place of honour was occupied by a people, viz., Mukhya Kaliṅgas, of even doubtful identity. Moreover Mukhaliṅgam, which is considered as a place in the land of the Mukhya Kaliṅgas, seems to have been really under the occupation of the Calingae, i.e. the Kaliṅgas. Thus Mukhaliṅgam cannot be connected with the so called Mukhya Kalinga tribe, nor can we be sure about the existence of a people of that name. Hence the Indian base of the word 'Maccocalingae' cannot be '*Mukhya Kalingāḥ*'[11].

It may be suggested that the term 'Maccocalingae' has been derived from '*Mukkaliṅga*'. The latter form is reached, according to the modern Telugu grammar, after joining Muḍu (three) with Kaliṅga.[12] So 'Maccocalingae' may mean three Kaliṅgas. This suggestion is, however, unacceptable. We do not know whether this particular rule of modern Telugu grammar was in force in the days of Megasthenes, whose book served as a source for Pliny's information referred to here. Moreover, when Pliny refers to the Brachmanae as including different tribes, among which were the Maccocalingae, it is clear that the latter formed only one among various races. Thus Maccocalingae is the name of a single tribe or a mixed race having the appearance of a single race. So it cannot denote three different Kaliṅga peoples.

The only other possible interpretation of the term 'Maccocalingae' is to connect it with the words 'Mekala' and 'Kaliṅga'. G. Ramdas has pointed out that in the Kui language, which is current in Gondwana region (where Maik alrange stands), the word '*Mel*' means 'high'. The same scholar observes that the term 'Kaliṅga' can be contracted as '*Kala*'. So *Mel* (i.e. high or hilly) joined with *Kala* (i.e. Kaliṅga) results in 'Mekala' (i.e. the Kaliṅgas of hilly region). This Mekala, in the opinion of our writer, served as the base of the term 'Maccocalingae'[13]. This argument is, however, not flawless. 'Mekala' can at best be the base of 'Macco' and not of 'Maccocalingae'. Again, if 'Macco' means 'Mekala', i.e. the Kaliṅgas of hill, then 'Calingae', which undoubtedly stands for the word 'Kaliṅgāh', must be considered redundant in the term 'Maccocalingae'. Hence the name Mekala cannot be considered as the Indian base of the nomenclature 'Maccocalingae'[14]. Moreover, the Mekalas and the Kaliṅgas have been always treated in Indian sources as different and distinct peoples (see below). It is, however, possible as will be presently shown, that some people of each of these two races, whose territories might have been contiguous, formed a joint tribe called 'Mekala-Kalingāḥ', and this nomenclature served as the base of the term 'Maccocalingae'.

It seems from Pliny's description that to him and Megasthenes 'Maccocalingae' appeared to be the name of single trible or at least of a mixed tribe. The term '*Mekala-Kaliṅgāḥ*, which may serve as the base of Pliny's term, also probably means a mixed tribe (*Mekalāśchāmi Kaliṅāścheti Mekala-Kalingāḥ*, a case of *Karmadhāraya* compound), and probably had, like other mixed peoples, the appearance of a single race.[15]

The *Bṛhat Saṁhitā* includes the Mekala tribe in the East[16], and places the Kaliṅgas, with which we are familiar, in the region of Agni (i.e. south-east).[17] The *Matsya Purāṇa* locates one Kaliṅga tribe in Madhyadeśa.[18] The same text distinguish these Kaliṅgas from the Kaliṅgas of the South,[19] with which we are more acquainted. The same *Purāṇa* ascribes the Mekalas to the Vindhya area.[20]

Thus in certain Indian texts one Kaliṅga race, of course not the famous Kaliṅgas of the sea-coast, is placed in Madhyadeśa, whereas the Mekalas, the inhabitants of the Maikal range zone in Madhya Pradesh, are located both in the Eastern and Vindhyan regions. The position of the country of the Mekalas indicates that they were also probably could have been considered as a race of Madhyadeśa. The Vindhyas, of which the Maikal range can be considered to be a part, form the traditional boundary of Madhyadeśa. And as the Maikal range is situated in the border-land of Madhyadeśa, the people residing in that range can be called to belong as much to Madhyadeśa, as they are said to have been included within the East and Vindhyan Zone. Hence it seems highly probable that the Mekalas lived in the Maikal hill area in the Vindhyan zone lying in the border-lands between Madhyadeśa on one hand and the Eastern and also probably South-Eastern divisions on the other.

The Kaliṅga people of Madhyadeśa most probably formed a branch of the famous Kaliṅgas of the South, or more precisely of the South-East. As these famous Kaliṅgas lived near the coast in early times their kinsmen probably did not settle in a land very far from their own, and if this settlement was at all in Madhyadeśa, it should have been in the border-lands between Madhyadeśa and the South-Eastern division.

Thus the joint evidences of these two Indian texts, which seem to contain in relevant portions genuine traditions of the past,[22] indicate that the Mekalas and a branch of the Kaliṅgas[23] resided almost in the same area. It is highly probable that due to free mixing, ethnic infusion, intermingling, and cultural acculturation, a group of the Mekalas and the whole or a part of the branch of the Kaliṅgas were very closely united with each other. They probably formed a joint or mixed tribe, which appeared to Megasthenes and

Pliny as a single people. They called them 'Maccocalingae.' As the Mekalas can be difinitely taken to be the inhabitants of the Mekala *Parvata* area (i.e. modern Maikal range in Madhya Pradesh), this mixed tribe also probably lived near the same locality. The Maikal range, the eastern peak of which is formed by the Amarakaṇṭaka hill, is the eastern outer wall of the Satpuras, bounding Chhatisgarh, and particularly Bilaspur reion, on the west and the north.[24]

In conclusion, it should be noted that as the Maccocalingae had ethnic relations with the Calingae, (the Kaliṅgas of ancient India), the latter probably exerted influence right upto the zone of the former people. The Kaliṅga group was probably predominant among the men of the mixed race of the Mekala-Kaliṅgas (*Mekalāśchāmi Kaliṅgāścheti*). At one time, probably with the expansion of the Kaliṅga Kingdom, the regions of the Mekalas and the Maccocalingae were included within the former. This picture is probably reflected in the pages of the *Kurma Purāṇa*, which includes the Amarakaṇṭaka hill within the area of the Kaliṅgas.[25] Generally, however, the Kaliṅga country embraced the coastal region of the Bay of Bengal. According to the traditional account preserved in the *Mahābhārata*, the territory of the Kaliṅgas extended along the coast from the region of the river Vaitaraṇī (to be placed in modern Midnapur area) to the northern mouth of the Godāvarī.[26] The exact limits of Kaliṅgadeśa, however, varied in different ages.

References

1. E. A. Schwanbeck, *Megasthenis Indica*, Fragmenta Collegit, Bonnac, MDCCXLVI.
2. C. Pliny, *Naturalis Historiae*, Parisus, MDCCXXV.
3. See also *MI*, p. 161.
4. *Nat. His.*, liber VI, 21; *MI*, p.161.
5. J. W. McCrindle, *Ancient India As Described By Megasthenis And Arrian*, London 1877, pp. 131 & 133.
6. *M.I.* p. 162.
7. *AIMA*, p. 133, f.n.
8. For an account of Ptolemy's, '*Geography*,' see S. N. Majumdar Sastri's *Mccrindle's Ancient India As Described by Ptolemy*, Calcutta, 1927.
9. *Geography*, VII, I, 74; *MAIP*, pp. 167, 170, 349, & 381-83.
10. This is a view of S. K. Aiyanger; M.M. Ganguly also thinks that '*Macco*' stands for '*Mukhya*' (*Orissa and Her remains—Ancient and Mediaeval. p.* 15).

11. The name of modern Mukhaliṅgam may be a contraction of the nomenclature '*Mukhya-Kaliṅga-Nagarī*'. The latter probably meant the chief city of the Kaliṅgas. (See also, L. D. Barnett, *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, 1926, p. 157, f.n.l, for an almost similar view).

12. G. Ramdas has pointed out that *Muḍu*+*Kaliṅga*, according to the rule of *Sandhi* of Telugu grammar, will be *Mukkaliṅga* (*Journal of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society*, Vol. XIV. p. 450).

13. *Journal of Andhra Historical Research Society*, Vol. I, pp. 18-19.

14. It may be agreed that 'Maccocalingae' denotes the Kaliṅgas of Mekala or hilly Kaliṅga region. Here 'hilly Kaliṅga' may mean 'hilly region of Kaliṅga country'. If so, 'Mekala' should always be taken as a place-name, and as the name of a people. But in Indian texts it is used both as the name of a hill (so a place name) and also as a nomenclature of a tribe.

15. It may be pointed out that the term '*Mekala-Kaliṅgāḥ*', which serves as the base of the word 'Maccocalingae' can be interpreted as meaning two distinct peoples called the Mekalas and the Kaliṅgas (*Mekalāścha Kaliṅgāścha iti Mekalakaliṅgāḥ*, a case of *Dvandva* compound). But this interpretation is unacceptable here, as Pliny indicates that the 'Maccocalingae' were at least a mixed people having the appearance of a single race. So also the possible interpretation of '*Mekala-Kaliṅgāḥ*' as meaning the Kaliṅgas of Mekala region (*Mekalasya Kaliṅgāḥ iti Mekalakaliṅgāḥ*, a case of *Tatpuruṣa* compound) also does not hold good here. For Pliny nowhere in his '*Catalogue of Indian Races*' has included with one single word the name of both the tribe and its habitat. For the same reason we should also reject the probable analysis of the term '*Mekala-Kaliṅgāḥ*' as meaning the Kaliṅgas inMekala (*Mekaladeśiyāḥ Kaliṅgāḥ*, a case of *karmadhāraya* coumpound).

The term *Mekalakaliṅgāḥ* can also be interpreted to mean the Kaliṅga people whose ancestors lived in Mekala region. (*Mekalābhijātāḥ Kaliṅgāḥ*, a case of *Madhyapadalopī Karmadhāraya* compound). This analysis cannot, however, be accepted here. For Pliny, in his list of Indian races, never includes within one term the nomenclatures of both the people and their habitat.

16. *Bṛhat Saṁhitā*, Ch. XIV, v. 7.

17. *Ibid*. Ch. XIV, v. 8.

18. *Matsya Purāṇa*, Ch. 114, v. 36.

19. *Ibid*. Ch. 114, v. 47.

20. *Ibid*. Ch. 114, v. 52.

21. The case of the South Eastern division can be discussed here after considering geographical position of the Maikal, the habitat of the Mekalas.

22. These two literary works are in date most probably posterior to Megasthenes and Pliny. But in course of discussion of the ethnic settlements in India, they, like other *Mahāpurāṇas* and the Great Epic, furnish us with a picture based on a genuine tradition of the past. They no doubt include new peoples in their lists, but do not discard the old ones. Hence it is possible that when they speak of the Kaliṅgas, the old race, they indicate the traditional homes of the Kaliṅgas and their branch. This traditional idea might not vary much from that of Megasthenes and Pliny. This seems to be the correct conclusion, specially when we remember that like the Calingae of these two foreigners (*His Nat*, liber VI, 21), the Kaliṅgas are also placed in the coastal region by the traditional account preserved in the *Mahābhārata* (See the *Vanaparvan*). (See also reference no. 26).

23. In an article, called 'A Critical Examination of Alberuni's charges Against the Copyists of the Purāṇas', (published in the *Indian Historical Quarterly*, June, 1959), the present author observed that the copyists of the *Matsya Purāṇa* wrongly placed the Kaliṅgas both in the Middle country and in the South. It however now appears to him, after a close examination of different manuscripts and editions of this *Purāṇa*, that it was the author of the relevant section, and not any copyist, who wilfully placed the Kaliṅgas in both the regions. He probably wanted to refer to the Kaliṅgas of the 'South' and their branch residing in the Middle country.

24. The Utkalas are sometimes associated with the Mekalas (*Rāmāyana*, canto IV, 41, 9-'*Mekalānutakalāṁśchaiva*; *Matsya Purāṇa*, ch 114, v. 52-

'*Mekalaścholkalāḥ*'). Mekala is once mentioned together with Kośala as a country in the Balaghat Plates of Pṛithivīsena (*Epigraphica Indica*. Vol, IX, p. 269). It might be that at one time the Mekalas had close relations with the Kaliṅgas, and at another time with the Utkalas. Still at other time the country of the Mekalas had geographical or political relations with Kośala. So pictures of different times are depicted in various texts. We cannot, however, place implicit faith in this kind of groupings made by the *Purāṇas* and other documents. The *Bṛhatsaṁhitā* (ch. XVI, v. 7) and the *Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa* (ch. 58, V. 13, *Purṇotkotas* i.e., *Purḍrotkalas*), refer to the *Pauṇḍrotkalas*'. But the areas of the Pauṇḍras (to be placed in North Bengal) and the Utkalas (to be located in a part of Northern Orissa) are so greatly separated from each other, that it is very difficult to believe that these two peoples, after having settled down in their traditional areas, could ever be considered to have been included, without the help of other races, in one unit. It is therefore convenient to think that in Indian texts these groupings are generally made to facilitate or enforce grammatical rules (c.f. *Pauṇḍrāścha Utkalāścha iti Pauṇḍrotkalāḥ*; *Mekalaḥ* + *cha* + *Utkalah* = *Mekalaścholkalāḥ*).

25. '*Kaliṅgadeśa paśchārdhe parvate*' *marakaṇṭake*, *II*, ch. 39. v. 19.

26. The *Vanaparvan* (section No. 114) indicates that the Vaitaraṇī, to be placed in modern Midnapur district of West Bengal State, passes through the land of the Kaliṅgas (*Ete Kaliṅgāḥ*, *Kaunteya*, *yatra Vaitaraṇī nadī*, —III, 114, 4). So, at least some portions of the country of the Kaliṅgas must be located in Eastern India. The Pāṇḍavas are said to have reached this territory while travelling by the seashore from the Gaṅgasāgarasaṅgama. Hence, this land is very likely to be placed by the side of the sea. In the same section,—to which we are now referring—, Yudhiṣṭhira, the eldest of the Pāṇḍavas, is said to have taken rest on the skirts of the Mahendragiri, i.e., the Mahendra hill. The latter, as it appears from the contexts, should be considered to have been situated within the country of the Kaliṅgas. It can be identified with the Mahendragiri, which stands in the border regions of Ganjam and Srikakulam districts.

In section No. 118 of the above mentioned *parvan*, Yudhiṣṭhira is stated to have gone from the Mahendra hill to some holy places and a river, and thence to the Godavari. After that he reached the sea in Draviḍa land. Thus the Godavari seems to be lying in the boundary area of a country, and that country, as it appears from the manner of description, is the territory of the Kaliṅgas.

It is thus clear that the Kaliṅgas, according to the conception of the authors of the *Vanaparvan*, stretches along the coast from the region of the Vaitaraṇī to that of the Godavari. It seems to include some portions of the coastal area of Midnapur district, and whole of the littoral portions of the districts of Balasore, Cuttack, Puri, Ganjam, Srikakulam, Visakhapatnam and East Godavari.

27. The Kaliṅgadeśa was the name of the country inhabited by the tribe called Kaliṅga. Pliny places the Calingae near the sea. The Great Epic also locates their country on the sea coast between the region of the Vaitaraṇī and that of the Godavari.

The *Nāṭyaśāstra* of Bharata, (a text to be placed within a few centuries before or after Christ), distinguishes between the Tosala and the Kaliṅga peoples. (*Kosalas-Tosalaśchiva Kaliṅgāh Yācha Mosalāḥ*, Kāvyamālā edition, ch. XIV, v. 10). The zone of the former was included within Kaliṅga country in the time of Aśoka.

Kālidāsa (C. 4th—5th centuries A.D.) no doubt describes in his *Raghuvaṁśa*, the king of Kaliṅga as equal to the Mahendra mountain in strength, and as the lord of the Mahendra and the sea. (*Mahendrādrisamānasāraḥ patir=Mahendrasya mahodadheścha*, canto *VI*, *v*. 54). Thus the great poet locates the Kaliṅga country near the sea and seems to include within it, portions of modern Ganjam and Srikakulam districts, where the Mahendragiri stands. He, however, does ascribe to the Kaliṅgas the whole coastal region from the region of the Vaitaraṇī to that of the Godavari. For he places the Kaliṅga country after Utkala, the latter being located beyond the river Kapiśā (modern Kansai in Midnapur district. Canto IV, vv. 38-43). Thus he does not ascribe the whole coastal area in question to the Kaliṅgas.

A century or two later, the Soro plates indicate that the Northern portion of the coastal region in question was further divided. These plates vouchsafe for the inclusion of Balasore region within Uttara Tosala, the latter being a part of Oḍra.

In the seventh century Hiuen-Tsang describes Ka-leng-Ka (Kaliṅga) as a country of only little above 500 li (or roughly 833 miles) in extent. (T. Watters, *On Yuan Chwang's Travels in India*, London, Vol. II, 1905, p. 198). The Chinese pilgrim also distinguishes it from Wu-t'u (i.e. Odra) and Kung-yu-t'o (i.e. Koṅgada; *OYCTI*, pp. 193 & 196). In this context Kaliṅga seems to have been situated between the Godavari on the South-West and the Goyaliya branch of the Indrāvatī river on the North-West. (S. N. Majumdar Sastri, ed. *Cunningham's Ancient Geography of India*, p. 591).

This rapid survey of the boundary of the Kaliṅga people from the c. 4th century A.D. to the seventh century A.D., indicates that as the centuries passed by it diminished gradually in extent.

TWO SYNCRETISTIC ICONS

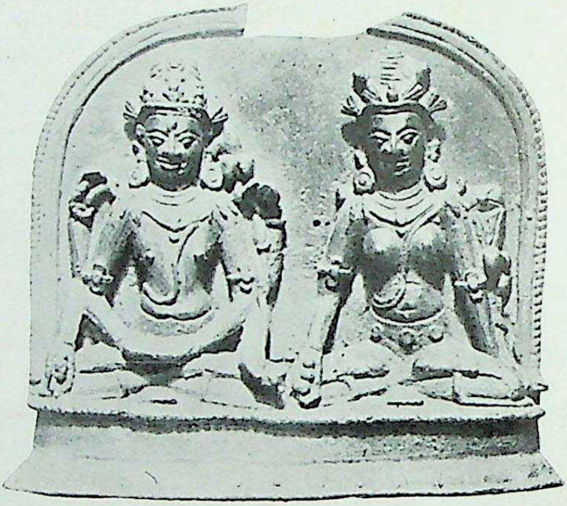
Pratapaditya Pal

The two metal images discussed in this paper were both found at Chittagong and belong now to the personal collection of Sri S. K. Saraswati. Briefly they may be described as follows.

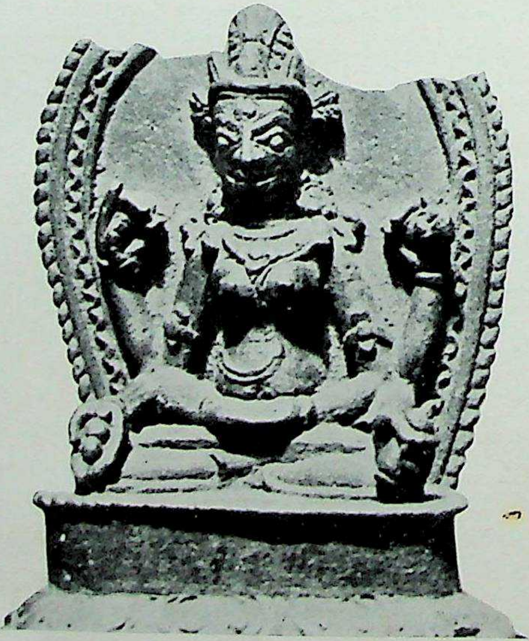
On a common lotus pedestal we have two figures, seated side by side, one male and the other female. The male figure is six-armed and seated in *vajraparyaṅkāsana*. Among his jewelleries are bracelets, a necklace and earrings (*kuṇḍala*). He also wears an *ūpavīta* and his hair is done in *jaṭāmūkuṭa*. His forehead is marked with the third-eye and on his head he bears a tiny effigy of what appears to be a skull. The two normal hands are placed on the crossed soles in *samādhi-mudrā*; among the other four hands, the upper right holds the *akshamālā*, and the lower shows the *ratnasaṁyukta-varada-mudrā*, the upper left holds a manuscript while the lower a lotus by the stalk. The female figure by his side is also in *vajraparyaṅkāsana* and has two hands. Bedecked in identical jewelleries, her hair too is done up in a chignon. Her right hand is in *ratnasaṁyukta-varada* and her left holds a lotus on which rests a manuscript.

The second image is that of a single goddess, seated in *vajraparyaṅkāsana*, wearing identical jewelleries, the *jaṭāmūkuṭa* and bearing the third-eye as also the effigy of a Dhyāni Buddha, almost unrecognizable, on the crest. She is also six-armed and her hands bear the same attributes as the male figure in the other image, except the lower left, which holds a vase instead of a lotus.

No known *dhyānas* in any of the texts agree with these descriptions. As regards the identification of the male figure it is apparent that fundamentally he shows many of the attributes of Śiva. The *vajraparyaṅkāsana*, the *samādhi-mudrā* (that of a yogin), the *akshamālā* and the third-eye together with the skull are all distinctive characteristics of Śiva. It has also to be noted that the manuscript and the *ratnasaṁyukta-varada-mudrā* remain definite factors and, in



1. Chittagong : Image of a god with consort.



2. Chittagong : Image of a goddess.

fact, they appear to be the most exclusive symbols of all the three figures as they are common to all.

In Brāhmaṇical conception Śiva, in his peaceful aspect, is known to be a *jñāna-devatā* and is to be attained by *jñāna.* Gopinath Rao has pointed out how the Vedānta Śaivas believed that the vedas came out with the breath of their Lord (*Yasya-niśvāsitam-vedaḥ*). The Āgamāntikas, on the other hand, assert that the Āgamas were more pure as they were the very words uttered by the Lord. In his *dakshināmurti*, Śiva is seen to be a teacher of *yoga*, of *viṇā*, of *jñāna* and an expounder of other śāstras. According to the Āgama texts, in his *vyākhyāṇa-dakshiṇāmurti*, Śiva should have the *akshamālā*, the *nīlotpala* and show the *vyākhyāṇa-mudrā* and the *varadamudrā.* In his *jaṭāmūkuṭa* should be a *kapāla* (skull) and besides the *yojñopavīta*, he should also wear *kuṇḍala* in his ears. The *Vishnudharmottara* adds *amṛtaghaṭa* to the above list. Dr. J. N. Banerjea[2] has shown that in the *Śrī Bhāgavata* a description of Śiva clearly indicates him as a *jñāna-devatā*, his right hand forming the *vyākhyāṇa-mudrā.* In the *Tantrasāra*, among the many *dakshināmurtis* of Śiva, we find a particular form called, Lokanātha. The *dhyāna* is as follows:[3]

वटवृक्षं महोच्छ्रायं पद्मरागफलोज्ज्वलम् ।
गारुत्मतमयैः पत्रैर्विचित्रैरुपशोभितम् ।
नवरत्नमहाकल्पैर्लम्बमानैरलंकृतम्
विचिंत्य वटमूलस्थं चिन्तयेल्लोकनाथकम् ।
स्फटिकरजतवर्णं मौक्तिकीमक्षमालाममृत—
कलसविद्याज्ञानमुद्राः कराब्जैः ।
दधतमुरगकक्षं चन्द्रचूड़ं त्रिनेत्रं
विधृतविविधभूषं दक्षिणामूर्त्तिमीड़े ॥

Here Śiva, called Lokanātha, is four-armed, his hands holding the *japamālā* of jewels, *vidyā* or manuscript, the *amṛtakumbha* and the fourth hand manifesting the *jñāna-mudrā.* This is yet another form of Śiva as a *jñāna-devatā.* Curiously, however, three of the attributes in this case are the same as those of Brahmā, the Creator of the cosmic order as also the god of knowledge. The creation of the Vedas, too, have been traditionally ascribed to Brahmā from the earliest times.

Yet, to the Śaivas, Śiva, as a *jñāna-devatā*, is accreuited with the supreme task of creation of the Vedas and probably as such is given the principal iconographic symbols of Brahmā. Here, of course, we may be tempted to say that a synthesis had occured between these two principal Brāhmaṇical deities. But what appears to be more probable is that, with the supercession of Vedic rites by Purānic and Tāntrik rituals, not only had Brahmā, primarily a vedic deity, lost his importance but there had evolved no strong cult around him. This might have prompted the Śaivas to usurp his peculiarities and attribute them to Śiva.

It will be evident, therefore, that the male figure of our images is fundamentally Śiva in his *dakshiṇāmūrti*. Of course, his principal attribute is given everywhere as the *vyākhyāṇa-mudrā* whereas our figure shows the *samādhi-mudrā*. But this is hardly an incompatible fact considering that Śiva is also a teacher of *yoga* and, as a *Mahāyogi*, should show the *samādhimudrā*.

But there are strong reasons to believe that both the images are Buddhist. The independent female figure, with the effigy of a Dhyāni Buddha, although mutiliated, seems to be a Buddhist goddess. Yet, in all respects except the vase, she is identical to the male figure, which, indubitably, shows her to be the actual *śakti* of the god. In that case, he, too, would be Buddhist. This is corroborated by the fact that behind the two figures in the first image, there are two tiny discs, showing illegible scribbling, which apparently were meant to contain the sacred formula of the Buddhist creed. Both the images therefore manifest Buddhistic affiliation. This being so, the male figure would appear to be a synthesis of Śiva and some other Buddhist god, or a particular form of Śiva, the idea of which was, to a certain extent, derived from Mahāyāna pantheon. Among the Buddhist gods the manuscript is most frequently found associated with Mañjuśri, the god of wisdom in the Mahāyāna pantheon.

The *Tantrasāra* throws interesting light on the absorption of certain Mahāyāna ideals in the conception of a particular form of Śiva, called Mañjughosha.[4] Mañjughosha, it should be noted, is a particular form of the Buddhist god, Manjuśri and it is interesting to find that Śiva identifies himself with

Mañjughosha in a verse quoted in the *Tantrasāra* from the *Bhairavatantra*.[5]

श्रुयतां देवी मे वाक्यं नात्र कार्या विचारणा ।
मञ्जुघोषस्तु यो देवः सोऽहं देवि न संशयः ॥

He then continues to describe the form of Mañjughosha.[6] The *dhyāna* is as follows:

शशधरमिव शुभ्रं खड्गपुस्तांकपाणिं,
सुरुचिरमतिशान्तं पंचवूडं कुमारम् ।
पृथुतरवरमुख्यं पद्मपत्रायताक्षं,
कुमतिदहनदक्षं मञ्जुघोषं नमामि ॥

The principal attributes of Mañjughosha-Śiva, as given above, are the sword and the manuscript. The term '*aṅkapāṇi*' here may mean that the hands are to be placed on '*aṇka*' in *samādhi*. A manuscript of the *Tantrasāra*, in the collection of Sri S. K. Saraswati, has the variant reading '*akshapāṇi*', which may mean that he is to have *aksha*(*-mālā*) in one of his hands. Both these readings, however, suit the god in the present image admirably, which shows both *akshamālā* (*akshapāṇi*) and *samādhi-mudrā* (*aṅkapāṇi*). Besides, the distinctive symbol, manuscript, is also present.

In the same *Bhairava-tantra*, Śiva further declares that the ardent devotee of Mañjughosha will become the possessor of wealth and prosperity, of great powers of speech, of unsurpassable intellect and poetic abilities.[7] In fact the very '*Mañjughosha-mantra*' begins with a verse eulogising him as the Dispeller of Ignorance.[8] Here then Śiva, as Mañjughosha, serves the definite purpose of a *jñāna-devatā*. Indeed, this aspect has been even more emphatically expressed in other verses of the same *tantra*, where, in connection with the elaboration of various rites, their purposes are elucidated,[9] and we have a reassertion of Mañjughosha-Śiva as being a bestower of both material and spiritual wealth.

Yet this Tantrik form of Mañjughosha-Śiva does not tally with Mañjughosha of the Mahāyāna pantheon. In the *Sādhanamālā*,[10] Mañjughosha is said to ride a lion and his hands are to form the *vyākhyāṇa-mudrā*. On his left is to be the night lotus and in his crown he is to bear the image of the Dhyāni Buddha, Akshobhya. Even so there is no anomaly involved since fundamentally Mañjughosha is another name of Mañjuśrī and the *Bhairava-tantra* form is therefore essentially that of Mañjuśrī. According to the *Tantrasāra*, as quoted above, Mañjughosha is described as *Pañcacūḍa* or having five crests. Now, the conception of the five crests in Brāhmanical *trantra* was merely a derivation from the idea of the Five Dhyāni Buddhas of the Buddhists. In the Mahāyāna pantheon Mañjuśrī, in a few of his forms, is described as having emanated from all the five parental Buddhas.

It is interesting to note further that in the same *tantra*[11] the *vījamantra* of Mañjughosha-Śiva is given as अ र व च ल which is apparently to be emended as अ र प च न (A RA PA CA NA). Arapacana, as we know, is an independent and popular form of Mañjuśrī in the Mahāyāna pantheon, and eight different *sādhanas* in the Sādhanamālā are devoted to him. His principal attributes are the sword and the manuscript. It will be evident that the Mañjughosha form of Śiva is in the main derived from that of Arapacana.

We have thus overwhelming evidences for identifying the male figure, in the images under discussion, as being a synthesis between Śiva, in his *dakshiṇāmūrti* (*yoga* as well as *jñāna*) and the Buddhist god Mañjuśrī. Both, as we have already seen, are gods of knowledge and play the same role of dispelling the darkness of ignorance, one with his third-eye and the other with his sword. Both were very popular gods and it was only natural that the two conceptions should be welded into this particular form.

Regarding the identification of the female figures, we have already stated that the independent female figure has greater claims to be considered as the *śakti* of the god rather than the one seated by his side. But by virtue of their being together the latter too apparently is his *śakti*. Yet unlike him she is only two-armed and while she possesses the lotus and the manuscript, both attributes of the male figure, and shows the same *ratnasaṁyukta-varada-mudrā*, she is without the third eye. It is possible that she is merely a simplified form of the other goddess, who should therefore be identified first. We may, *en passant*, remark that in spite of her having a manuscript on a lotus, the absence of the *dharmacakraparvartanamudrā* precludes any possibility of her identification with Prajñāpāramitā, the *śakti* of Mañjuśrī.

The *Nishpannyayogāvalī* gives us a list of many of the Brāhmaṇical deities incorporated *ad vivum* in the Mahāyāna pantheon among whom Sarasvatī is eminent. One of her many forms, as given in the *Sādhanamālā*, is Āryāsarasvatī,[12] who carries in her left hand the *Prajñāparamitā* manuscript on a lotus but the *dhyāna* is silent regarding the right hand. In the Brāhmanical pantheon Sarasvatī or Vāgiśvarī, as she is alternatively known, is the goddess of knowledge. Traditionally she is known to be the *śakti* of Brahmā and they have the same attributes and the same *vāhana*, viz. the *haṁsa*. But curiously, as a form of Devī, she is found to be the *śakti* of Śiva too. In the *Tantrasāra*,[13] it is stated that, along with a number of other goddesses, Sarasvatī also should adorn the lap of Rudradeva.

A number of *dhyānas* of Sarasvatī is found, one of which is as follows:[14]

> शुभ्रां स्वच्छविलेपमाल्यवसनां शीतांशुखंडोज्ज्वलां,
> व्याख्यामक्षगुणं सुधाढयकलसं विद्याञ्च हस्ताम्बुजैः।
> विभ्राणां कमलासनां कुचलतां वाग्देवतां सस्मितां,
> वन्दे वाग्विभवप्रदां त्रिनयनां सोभाग्यसम्पत्करीम्।
> एवं ध्यात्वा . . . .

Her symbols here are the *akshamālā*, the *jñāna-mudrā*, the nectar-vase and the manuscript. She is also given a third-eye. Three of these symbols, together with the third-eye, are possessed by our goddess. It is most likely, therefore, that she is a form of Sarasvatī. Besides, we have already seen that she could easily be a *śakti* of Śiva, and even more so, when he is conceived as a *jñāna-devatā*. Furthermore, in the Buddhist pantheon, she is also the *śakti* of Mañjuśrī. The presence of the *samādhi-mudrā* may be explained by the fact that in this particular instance she is the *śakti* of the male figure, who shows the *samādhi-mudrā* with his normal hands and so should she. Neither is the *ratnasaṁyukta-varada-mudrā* entirely inexplicable. Both Sarasvatī and Śiva, as Mañjughosha, are bestowers of material as well as spiritual wealth, as is evident from the respective *dhyānas*. The *ratnasaṁyukta-varada-mudrā* would then appear to be most appropriate and *ratna*, particularly, is symbolic of both spiritual and material wealth. Besides, from the Āgama texts we know, as it has been stated above, that the *varada-mudrā* too can be an attribute of Śiva. It must, however, be remembered that this particular goddess, although expressing fundamentally a Tāntrik concept of Sarasvatī, is here Buddhist as she carries the effigy of a Dhyānī Buddha in her *jaṭāmūkuṭa*. But in Buddhist literature there is no *dhyāna* which agrees with this particular form. There is all the same no difficulty in considering the other female figure to be an abstract form of this goddess, who is basically Sarasvatī.

It is interesting to note that in the *Śāradātilaka*[15] we have the following *dhyāna* of Sarasvatī:

अंकोन्मुक्त शशांक कोटी सदृशीमापीनतुंगस्तनीम् ।
चन्द्रार्द्धांकित मस्तकां मधुमदादालोल नेत्रत्रयाम् ।।
विभ्राणामनिशं वरं जपवटीं विद्यां कपालं करै,
आढयां यौवनगर्व्विंतां लिंपतनुं वागीश्वरीमाश्रये ।।

This and the one quoted earlier are only typically representative of the numerous *dhyānas* devoted to Sarasvatī in Tāntrik and non-Tāntrik literature. Curiously, whatever be her symbols, she is invariably attributed with a *ardha-candra* on her head and a third-eye on her forehead. These are indisputable characteristics of Śiva and yet we find them associated with Sarasvatī. Indeed, in the above *dhyāna*, she is even given the *kapāla*, incontestably a Śaiva feature, in one of her hands. There must have been rather a strong tradition that associated Sarasvatī with Śiva and considering that he is the *jñāna-devatā* there is nothing strange about it. In her earliest form she was the companion of Brahmā; in the medieval images, she is invariably found as a consort of Vishṇu along with Śrī or Lakshmī; and as we have just seen she was also closely associated with Śiva. She seems to have enjoyed astounding popularity and this was perhaps due to her being the goddess of learning.[16]

In the conception of Mañjughosha-Śiva form, while Śiva assumed a fundamental and even a predominant role, the inspiration was the ideology of the Buddhist god of knowledge, Mañjuśrī. And Sarasvatī, being agreeable to both, proved to be the common tie, as it were. But *jñāna* or knowledge was the basic prerequisite that brought all of them together and led to this remarkable fusion.

The conclusion that at once suggests itself from the above discussion is that iconographic syncretism was a definite force and the demands of iconism, as an expansive and elastic phenomenon, made it absolutely necessary to draw from all available sources. At the same time, the votaries of a particular sect never deemed it an ignominy to borrow or absorb unscrupulously the qualities or attributes of the deities of other sects. Even among the various Brāhmaṇical cults such borrowings, although not always actuated by the noble motive of syncretism, were taken as a matter of course. This was all the more glaring when the Buddhists began creating their pantheon. With the development of the Mahāyāna philosphy as a religious force, the evolution of a Mahāyāna pantheon became an imperative necessity. The Mahāyānists, however, had the advantage of possessing a ready-made and extensively elaborate pantheon at hand, viz. that consisting of the innumerable Brāhmaṇical gods and goddesses. It was a matter merely of convenient and expedient emulation in welding one or more Brāhmaṇical concepts to give form to different Buddhist deities.

In Brāhmaṇism the supreme concept was that of the Trinity of Brahmā, Vishṇu and Maheśvara. When, for instance, the conception of Bodhisattva Avalokiteśvara was to be given an ostensible form the Buddhists were obviously going to fall back upon these three principal Brāhmaṇical deities. Although Avalokiteśvara is the Preserver and plays the same cosmogonic role as the Purāṇic Vishṇu, in reality, he has more in common with Śiva,[17] iconographically. Indeed, Śiva appears to be the prototype of such popular forms as Siṁhanāda or Nīlakāṇṭha in the Vajrayāna pantheon. It is also significant that, in the *Lokeśvara-śataka* of Vajradatta, Lokeśvara and Śiva are declared to be one and inseparable.

Although frequently he falls a prey to feelings of vehement sectarianism, Śiva has also been the most popular

Brāhmaṇical god whom the Mahāyānists emulated. Among the various Brāhmanical cults, Tantra, as a ritualistic system, appealed more to Śaivas and Śāktas. This must have resulted in a greater liason between the deities of these two cults and those of the Vajrayāna pantheon; hence the popularity of Śiva. Chittagong, from where come these two images, (belonging to the 11th c. A.D.) has always been a flourishing centre of tāntrikism, both Brāhmanical and Buddhist; and even to this day, it is one of the few places in the sub-continent where Buddhism lingers, although timidly. Such curious images therefore—affording unusual examples of iconographic syncretism—are remarkable but not surprising.

References

1. Gopinath Rao: *Elements of Hindu Iconography*, vol. II, Pt. I, pp. 6-7 and 273 ff.
2. *Śri Bhāgavata*, (Vangavāsi edition in Bengali), p. 200, v. 38.
3. *Bṛhat Tantrasāra*, (in Bengali), p. 209, v. 30.
4. *ibid* pp. 380 ff.
5. *ibid* p. 386, v. 46.
6. *ibid* p. 386 v. 52.
7. *ibid* p. 385, v. 43-44.

मञ्जुघोषाख्यममलं मन्त्रमाकर्णय प्रिये ।
धनवंशप्रदं रम्यं सार्व्वज्ञ्यवाग्मिताप्रदम् ॥
अदोषकवितामूलं सर्व्वत्र प्रतिभाप्रदम् ।

8. *ibid* p. 380, v. 11.

जाडयौघतिमिरध्वंसी संसारार्णवतारकः ।
श्रीमञ्जुघोषो जयतां साधकानां सुखावहः ॥

9. *ibid* p. 381, v. 17, 19-20.

सलिले विजयी नित्यं भोजने च महेश्वरः ।
कुचे श्रुतिधरो नित्यं गोमुंडे च महाकविः ॥

. . . .

एवं कृत्वा प्रयत्नेन ज्ञात्वा गुरूमुखात् सुधीः ।
मासैकेन कवीन्द्र स्याद्द्विमासेनैव ईश्वरः ।
त्रिभिर्म्मासैर्भवेन्मर्त्त्यः सर्व्वशास्त्रविशारदः ॥
पुत्रार्थी लभते पुत्रं धनार्थी विपुलंधनम् ।
आयुरारोग्यकामस्तु सर्व्वान् कामानवाप्नुयात् ॥

It is also interesting to note that yet in two other verses Śiva identifies Mañjughosha with Bhairava. (p. 383, v. 15-16).

ध्यात्वा भैरवरूपेण जपेन्मन्त्रमनन्यधीः ।

. . . .

ध्यानं तत्र प्रवक्ष्यामि भैरवस्य महात्मनः ।

10. *Sādhanamālā*: Ed. Benoytosh Bhattacharyya; p.109.

11. *Bṛhat Tantrasāra*; p. 384.

12. *Indian Buddhist Iconography* by B. Bhattacharyya, 2nd Ed., p. 351.

13. *Bṛhat Tantrasāra*, p. 203, v. 5.

14. *Ibid* p. 127, v. 36.

15. *Śāradātilaka*, 7th *Paṭala*, 14th *śloka*.

16. Sarasvati is also a goddess incorporated in the Jaina Pantheon. In *Indian Sculpture* by S. K. Saraswati, we have an illustration of a Jaina image of Sarasvatī (Pl. XXXIX, Fig. 176) from Paltā (Bikaner) known as Vidyādevi. Here the four arms of the goddess show the *varada*, lotus, manuscript and a *kamaṇḍulu*. On the pedestal is a *haṁsa* and on the stela a tiny image of a Dhyanī Jīna. Two *pārśva-devatās* on the two sides play upon the *Viṇā*. It is evident therefore that all sects considered certain conceptions to belong to a common tradition and no hesitancy was felt in incorporating these.

17. It may be noted in parenthesis that, while discussing the conception of Avalokiteśvara, Zimmer (*The Art of Indian Asia*, pp. 184-185) says, "With the lotus of Lakshmī, the lion of Durgā, and the trident of Śiva as his main symbols and even sharing the feminine grace of Durgā and Lakshmī, the Bodhisattva Avalokiteśvara was a complex embodiment of the supreme divine forces of Hinduism." Further, while describing a Nepalese bronze of the Bodhisattva, he writes, "such a figure corresponds in meaning to the Ardhanāri (half male, half female) images of Śiva and his Śakti, which unite the goddess and the god as the left and right halves of the one manifestation." It is difficult to see how the presence of such isolated symbols as a 'lotus' or the *vāhana* 'lion' could be taken as sufficient indications of the presence of these two conceptions in Bodhisattva Avalokiteśvara. More appropriately and reasonably, the 'lotus' here has, perhaps, been berrowed from Vishṇu, who had more to do with Avalokiteśvara. The 'lion', although the mount of Durgā, does not necessarily indicate any borrowing of the concept but merely that of an inconographic cognizant. There is no reason, in that case, why the trident should not also be attributed to Durgā rather than Śiva. Moreover, the sculptural form of the figures could have no iconographic significance. The ideal of the male form in Indian art displays superficially an 'effeminate' grace and is invariably found in all classical and late-classical male figures, irrespective of their iconography. Besides, where the conception of 'Ardhanāri' was shown, we have distinct 'half male and half female' figures as in the images of Ardhanārīśvara found abundantly.

OBVERSE LEGEND ON THE COINS OF VAINYAGUPTA

BRATINDRA NATH MUKHERJEE

A FEW gold coins of Vainyagupta, all found in the Kalighat hoard, are in the coin cabinet of the British Museum for a long time. Earlier scholars, however, failed in reading correctly the name of the king on the obverse of the coins. Marsden, Smith, Rapson[1] etc. read the name as 'Chandra', though the last two scholars were not sure about their reading. Allan also read the name as 'Chandra' on the grounds of the legend 'Dvādaśāditya' occuring on the reverse as well as of the heavier standard weight of the coins. He described 'Chandra' of these coins as Chandragupta III Dvādaśāditya.[2]

Nearly two decades after the publication of Allan's *Catalogue*, was discovered the Gunaighar Copper Plate of (G.E.) 188 (i.e. A.D. 507-8) of the time of a king named Vainyagupta.[3] Dr. D. C. Ganguly was the first to suggest that the coins of the British Museum, referred to above, should be attributed to this Vainyagupta. He read the first letter of the vertical legend on the obverse as '*va*' with the sign for medial '*ai*' on the top. He also preferred to read the second letter as '*nya*'.[4]

This attribution of these coins to Vainya, i.e. Vainyagupta of the Gunaighar Copper Plate, has been almost universally accepted by scholars. The evidences, quoted above, particularly the coins issued in the Gupta type and fabric, and the testimony of a Nalanda seal, discovered later,[5] indicate that Vainyagupta probably belonged to the imperial Gupta family.

Thus this discovery of Dr. Ganguly should be considered as a definite contribution to our knowledge of Indian numismatics. Unfortunately, however, neither Dr. D. C. Ganguly nor any scholar before him could read the marginal legend on the obverse of these coins. For on these coins there are only indistinct traces of marginal circular legend.

The credit of reading correctly the marginal legend on the obverse of Vainyagupta's coin should go to Mr. S. K. Saraswati. His reading was based on an examination of the marginal legend occuring on a coin of Vainyagupta preserved in the collection of Mr. Narendra Singh Singhi of Calcutta. Mr. Saraswati communicated this information to the members of the Asiatic Society on the 4th September, 1950. Unfortunately, however, no subsequent writer has taken notice of it.[6] The purpose of the present paper is to draw the notice of scholars to the marginal legend of this coin of Vainyagupta. The present writer himself examined the coin and agrees completely with Mr. S. K. Saraswati about the reading of the marginal legend.

The coin in the collection of Mr. Narendra Singh Singhi of Calcutta may be described as follows:—

Metal—Gold ; Weight—145.4 grains

Obverse: King nimbate, standing to left, holding bow and arrow respectively in left and right hands. Garuḍa standard on left; below arm the vertical legend 'Vainya' and the letter 'bhi' between the feet. Marginal circular legend—"para takārī rājā . . . . da" (i.e. *parahitakārī rājā jayati divaṁ Śrī Dvādaśādityaḥ*).

Reverse: Goddess nimbate, seated facing on the lotus with fillet in the right hand and the left resting on knee. Border of dots. Legend to right—"Śrī Dvādaśādityaḥ".

Thus the present "Archer" type coin from the Singhi collection—by far the best preserved among the known coins of Vainyagupta—reveals for the first time the correct reading of the marginal legend on this King's species.[7] So this coin is very important to the students of Indian numismatics.

References

1. *Numismatic Chronicle*, 1891, p. 57.

2. Allan, *Catalogue of Coins in the British Museum, the Gupta Dynasty etc.*, pp. Liii-Liv. Mr. Allan admitted that the first letter of the name looked like 'va' and the second one like 'tya' on B.M.C. no 588, but felt that the reading Chandra was fully justified by B.M.C. nos. 588-89. The medial *mātrā* like stroke above the vertically written name of the king on the obverse was taken to be a crescent,

3. *Indian Historical Quarterly*, 1930, p. 45.

4. *IHQ*, 1933, pp. 784 ff.

5. *Memoirs of the Archaeological Survey of India*, no. 66, p. 67.

6. *Year Book for* 1950, *Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal.*, pp. 196-7.

7. This should be the conclusion, for Dr. A. S. Altekar, while publishing "*The Coinage of the Gupta Empire*" (*Corpus of Indian Coins*—Vol. IV), does not mention it. In course of description of the obverse of Vainyagupta's coins, he simply refers to "indistinct traces of circular legend", (p. 282).

8. Mr. R. D. Banerji attributed two coins in the collection of R. K. Jalan of Patna to 'Purugupta'. No such coins are now traceable. Mr. P. L. Gupta, however, has noticed that on one of the envelopes of the coins in the Jalan collection is written in green ink the word 'Puraha' with an interrogation. As R. D. Banerji was fond of green ink and used it all along his life, the word "Puraha" might have been written by him. While he took 'Pura' as the name of the issuer, he could make nothing out of 'ha' and hence put the interrogation. To this he probably referred to while making statements on the coins in his article, published in the *Annals of Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute.* (Vol. I, pt. 1, p. 75). Mr. P. L. Gupta thinks that what has been read as 'Puruha' should correctly be deciphered as 'parahi', a part of the word 'parahitakārī' (*IHQ*, XXVI, p. 235, fn. 1). This word may be a part of either the legend 'parahitakāri rājā jayati divam Śrī Budhaguptaḥ' or the sentence 'parahitakārī rājā jayati divaṁ Śrī Dvādasādityaḥ' (as has been shown in the present article). Thus the coins belonging to the Jalan collection might have been issues of either Budhagupta or of Vainyagupta.

THE BĀULS AND THE PĀŚUPATAS

Kalyan Kumar Dasgupta

It was Rabindranath Tagore who first drew attention of scholars and educated people as a whole to an order of singers of the rural Bengal. Known under the name 'Bāuls', these poor unlettered singers, charmed, rather influenced, poet Tagore, by their verses, in which he found "a striking originality of sentiment and diction", and "a religious expression that was neither grossly concrete, full of crude details, nor metaphysical in its rarefied transcendentalism".[1] The sweet and simple tunes of the Bāuls saturated the poet's mind and he set those tunes, as he himself admitted, to many of his songs.[2]

These unlettered and untutored village-singers, who impressed one of the greatest creative minds of all time, are a class of rustic and unsophisticated people, standing in a very low rung of Bengali society. Peculiar in their habits, practices and ways of living, the Bāuls form a distinct religious sect by themselves. The sect is composed of the Hindus and the Muslims alike, who generally come from lower strata of Hindu and Muslim communities. Consequently, they are looked down upon both by Hindu and Muslim orthodoxy.

The Bāuls acknowledge no so-called social ties and condemn the Hindu caste-system. Rites and rituals, fast and penances, peculiar to the orthodoxy, have no meaning to them. They place man and his body above every thing. They take the human body as the residence of theLord of Creation, the Supreme Being or Supreme Beloved, whom they variously call the 'Man of the Heart' (*Maner Mānuṣ*), Innate Man (*Sahaj Mānuṣ*) etc.[3] Their religion is not of any particular class or creed. It is the 'Religion of Man'.

The Bāuls believe that a man can completely immerse himself in the Divine Beloved who lives in the sacred temple of his body. This goal can be achieved in the way of love, "the love between the human personality and the Divine Beloved within and in this love man realises his union with the Divine". With this philosophy of love of the Bāuls is associated the element of *yoga*. Believing like the Sāṁkhya philosophers that the creation is due to the union of *Puruṣa* and *Prakṛti* (the primordial male and female energies), the Bāuls consider woman as the manifestation of the Supreme Being or Divine Beloved and worships her as *prakṛti* or *śakti*.[4] He says that since woman's way is the immediate way of love and the path of love is the best, rather only, way to reach the goal of immersion of one's personal existence in the Divine Beloved within (*maner mānuṣ*), woman is indispensable for his *sādhanā*. His *sādhanā*, better called *prakṛti-sādhanā*, is evidently a sexual one. To be precise, to realise his "union with the Divine", the Bāul *sādhaka* takes recourse to a *sādhanā*, which centres round some obnoxious esoteric sexo-yogic practices.[5] And in all the stages of that sexo-yogic *sādhanā*, he is helped by his *guru* or preceptor. To him *guru* appears in two aspects, human and divine; *guru* in human aspect is the means to reach the *guru* in divine aspect, i.e. the Supreme *guru* or the Divine Beloved residing in the human body.[6]

The Bāul *sādhanā* aims at the stage of *samarasa* (harmony of emotions). It is in this stage that a Bāul enjoins 'death-in-life' (*jente marā*) corresponding to the *fanā* or *fila fanā* of the 'Sūfī' *sādhakas*. In the state of 'death-in-life' the Bāul *sādhaka* becomes united with the Supreme Being or Supreme Beloved, poetically expressed by him as *Maner Mānuṣ* (Man of the Heart). This love-union implies, in fact, "the realisation of the *Sahaja* or the ultimate nature of self", the love being "between our human personality and the Divine Personality residing in the human as the true self".

2

Ācārya Kshitimohan Sen, one of the pioneer workers on the Bāul order who was responsible to a great extent for making poet Tagore to become keenly interested in the 'Religion of Man' preached by the unlettered Bāul singers, has tried to trace many of the teachings and philosophical ideas of the Bāuls to the later Vedic texts, particularly the *Atharva-Veda*.[7] He even finds some echo of the Bāul saying in the *Ṛg-Veda*. The *guru-vāda* (reliance on the spiritual guide) and the '*Kāya-yoga*' (the *yoga* of the body), two important features of the Bāul *sādhanā* have been traced by him to the Upaniṣads. It will be interesting to note here the answer of a Bāul in response to a query made to him by Ācārya Sen regarding the antiquity of his religion; the Bāul said to him: "Our religion is founded on the simple natural truth. So our beliefs are as old as man is"[8] and "they have no beginning. They existed before the Vedas".[9] "They claim further", as Ācārya Sen informs us, "that the followers of the Sahaj cult of the Bāuls and specially referred to in the Vedas under the name *Nivartiya* or *Nivyūdiya*, being described as those who conform to no accepted doctrines, but to whom, having known the truth in its purity, all directions are free".[10]

Round about the 15th century as a result of the commingling of ancient Upaniṣadic and *Sāṁkhya* ideas, Hindu Tāntrik theory of Śiva and Śakti (same as *Puruṣa* and *Prakṛti* of *Sāṁkhya* texts), Buddhist *Prajñā-Upāya-vāda* (corresponding to Hindu and Śakti-Śiva theory) and speculations on Kṛṣṇa and Rādhā (otherwise conceived as *Rasa* and *Rati*) of the Vaiṣṇava Sahajiyās—all of which are based on the same philosophy of primoridial male and female energies—the religious sect of Bengal known as the Bāuls took its origin and received a definite shape.[11] Final shape to this religious sect was completed when Sūfī-istic tenets and ideas were commingled with its religious modes and speculations. In short, the Bāul order grew out of the amalgam of different cults and schools—Hindu and Buddhist Tāntrik cults, Sahajiyā Vaiṣṇava schools as well as the Sūfī-ism. Mediaeval India marked by religious fermentation and syncretic tendencies resulting from contact, conflict and compromise of several major and minor religious systems including the powerful Islam, was, therefore, extremely favourable for the growth of such a syncretic religious cult. Further, it took its rise in that part of India where other anti-Vedic religions like it (e.g. Buddhism and Jainism and the Śaiva, Nātha, Yoga, Buddhist and Vaiṣṇava Sahajiyās) originated and gained popularity.

3

The theological concepts of the Bāul cult, though partially traceable to the Vedic texts, are essentially non-Vedic and anti-Vedic ones. In many Bāul songs the Vedas and Vedic ritualism have been condemned,[12] a fact which shows that besides the mediaeval Hindu and Buddhist Tantrik cults, the Vaiṣṇava Sahajiyā school and Sūfī-ism,[13] there were some other ancient non-Vedic and anti-Vedic religious elements which contributed to the growth of the Bāul cult.

What were these non-Vedic and anti-Vedic religious systems ? The Pāśupatas and the Ājīvikas, in particular, come to our mind in this connection. Pāṇini and his commentator Patañjali appear to have referred to these sects.[14] The unambiguous mention of the Śaivas under the name of the 'Śiva-Bhāgavatas' by Patañjali is interesting, since the sect in question followed some practices which were *atimārgika* (away from path) in character, that is to say, were opposed to the existent taste and order. The Śiva-Bhāgavatas were in the opinion of Dr. J. N. Banerjea predecessors of the Lakulīśa-Pāśupatas.[15] The other sect, the Ājīvikas, at least a section of it who were Brāhmaṇas, is probably referred to by Patañjali under the name 'Maskari Parivrājakas'[16] Like the Pāśupatas or the Śiva-Bhāgavatas, the Ājīvikas too used to engage themselves in practices which were condemnable in the eye of the orthodox Brāhmaṇists.[17] It appears that Patañjali had a poor opinion about these sects.

The Pāśupata system, as a distinct religious order, mentioned in the *Mahābhārata*[18] along with other prevalent religious systems, had a *śāstra* of its own. The tenets of the Pāśupatas were enunciated in the *Pāśupata-sūtra* that was commented upon by Kauṇḍinya, who flourished between the 4th and 6th century. Later, Mādhavācārya, the famous philosophical exponent of the 14th century A.D., discussed in details the Pāśupata philosophy in his *Sarva-Darśana-Saṁgraha.*[18a] The Pāśupatas, condemned in the Purāṇas like the *Kūrma-Purāṇa*[19] for being non-Vedic and anti-Vedic, promulgate that in order to make *yoga* (*ātmeśvarasaṁyoga*, i.e. union between the Great Lord or Śiva-Paśupati and the devotee) between the Great Lord or Śiva-Paśupati and the *Jīva*-world which is composed of five gross elements (*pañca-bhūta*) possible, certain *vidhis* (rites) should be observed. These rites include:[20] besmearing the body with ashes or bathing in ashes thrice a day (*bhasmanā trisavanam snāyita*) lying in ashes (*bhasmani śayitā*), six kinds of oblations viz., laughter, song, dance, muttering *hum* adoration, and pious ejaculation (*hasitagītanṛttaḍuṁḍuṁkāro-namaskārarakjapyopahāre*), feigning to be asleep when one is awake (*krātheta vā*), shaking the limbs as if they were paralysed (*maṇteta vā*; *mandeta vā* in *Sarva-Darśana-Saṁgraha*), showing in oneself to be in love by means of amorous gestures as if on seeing a young and pretty woman (*śṛngāreta vā*), doing a thing disliked by all as if bereft of all sense of what should and what should not be done (*apitatkuryāt*; *avitatkuryat* in *Sarva-Darśana-Saṁgraha*), speaking nonsensical and absurd things (*apitadbhāṣana*; *avitadbhāṣana* in *Sarva-Darśana-Saṁgraha*), roaming like a lunatic (*unmattavadeko vicaret*), walking like a ghost (*pretavaccaret*), living on begging (*bhaikṣyam*), eating the remnants of what others have eaten (*kṛtānnamutsṛṣṭamupādadīta*), etc. Evidently many of these rites were practised by the Pāśupatas with a view to overcome the sense of obnoxiousness and indecency. The Pāśupatas consider their vow as a secret one (*gūḍhavrata*). In this connection, it is to be noted that some of the religious practices of the Ājīvikas have affinites to those of the Pāśupatas; for example, both the sects consider singing and dancing as modes of their religious expression.

Now, commenting on the passage, *Śambhoḥ sa-bhasma-dvijān*, in the *Bṛhat-saṁhitā* of Varāhamihira (c. 6th ent. A.D.) in connection with the adoration of different divinities,[21] Utpala (c. 10th cent. A.D.) asserts that the images of Śambhu or Śiva should be worshipped according to the rites mentioned in the *Vātulatantra*. Dr. J. N. Banerjea thinks that the *Pāśupata-sūtras*, some of which are mentioned, were embodied as a *Pāśupata-śāstra* and the *Vātulatantra* in question "evidently refers to some such *śāstra*".[22]

It will be interesting to refer in this connection to thirteen *sūtras* composed by one Vātulanātha. These *sūtras*, with the gloss (*vṛtti*) of Anantaśaktipāda, have been edited and rendered into English by Madhusudana Kaul Sastri in the Kashmir Sanskrit Series. Nothing is known about this Vātulanātha; the utmost that we know of him from the gloss of Anantaśaktipāda is that he learned these *sūtras* from some *yoginīs* and he flourished sometime after the 12th cent A.D.[23]

The *sūtras* of Vātulanātha describe the *Sāhasa* inspiration, which from the Śaiva point of view stands "for the highest state of inspiration which needs no preliminary preparation and which is said often to take place when a spiritual seer, by chance happens to throw a kind glance on or extend his helping hand to the devotee".[24] In the introductory *śloka* of the text it is asserted that this *sāhasa* inspiration "is realisable through the instructions from the mouth of the teachers" (*guruvaktragamyaṁ*). Commenting on the eleventh *sūtra*, which is of interest Anantaśaktipāda says: "The five functions are respectively called *anāśrita*, *avadhūta*, *unmatta*, *sarvabhakshya* and *mahāvyapika*".[25] These terms are explained by him thus : "The *anāśritā* is, as supportless, akin to the lofty ether and is always ready and goes out, through the cavity of the ear, to swallow all its own objects, *Avadhūtā* is awake, at random to assimilate through the power of the eyes moving everywhere, all those objects which are absorbed into it. *Unmattā*, being free like a lunatic, is remarkable for catching its objects without any reference of the acceptable and the avoidable. *Sarvabhakshyā*, as destined habitually to gormandise all eatables, engages in devouring all its own objects. *Mahāvyāpikā* also springs into existence, as all-pervasive, to assmilate all touches through the channel of skin. This is the genesis of five functions".[26]

The five functions, mentioned above, had to be performed by the sect to which Vātulanātha belonged. Now, exactly to which sect did Vātulanātha belong, we cannot say with any certainty. That he was a Śaiva, there is no doubt. On the strength of similarity of ideas in the expressions like *Unmattā*, *Sarvabhakshyā* in the Vātulanātha-*sūtras* and *Unmatavadeko vicaret*, *Kṛtānnamutsṛstamupādadita* in the *Pāśupata-sūtras*, it may be surmised that Vātulanātha originally belonged to the Pāśupata school; later he came under the influence of some *yoginīs*, inclined towards Tāntrikism, (the *yoginīs* evidently belonging to the Tāntrik order,) and became a Tāntrik Śaiva. The Pāśupatas and the order of the Tāntrik Śaivas being linked with each other on account of their common origin, (*unmattā*, *sarvabhakṣyā* etc. common to the Pāśupata school may be noted in this connection) exerted a combined influence on the Bāul cult of Bengal, or to be more precise, contributed a great deal towards the growth of this cult.

5

Some of the functions and features of the Pāśupata as well as Śaiva-Tantrik order, echoed in the habits, customs and sayings of the Bāuls, are noted below.

Far from the madding crowd, the Bāuls live in a world of their own. They acknowledge no social ties and try to avoid society as far as they can. Their way of life, habits and customs are regarded by the so-called civilized society to those of insane people. The Bāuls know the feelings of the so-called society towards them and hence they also do not hesitate to call themselves mad. In a Bāul song, for example, we hear:[27]

> ...That is why brother, I became a madcap Baul,
> No master I obey, nor injuntions, canons or customs.

It is to be noted in this connection that the Bāuls of the Rāḍha region (i.e. West Bengal comprising the districts of Birbhum, Bankura, Burdwan etc.) are actually described as *kṣepā* (Sanskrit *kṣipta*, i.e. mad). *Kṣepā* is also used as the name-ending of many Bāuls (e.g., Rejo kṣepā, a Bāul singer of the 24 Parganas). This reminds us of the *unmattavadeko vicaret* and the *unmattā ca vicittavat svatantratayā* of Anantaśaktipāda's *vṛtti* on the eleventh *sūtra* of Vātulanātha. Such descriptions of the Śaivas fit well with the character of the Bāuls. It may be pointed out further that the very origin of the word Bāul, viz., Vātula, means 'wind-struck' or mad, a fact which gives support to the above contention.[28]

The habit of aimless wandering of a Bāul like a half-dead man or ghost, as it were, oblivious of the existence of this mundane world or worldly things in general, seems to be in conformity to the significance of the *Pāśupata-sūtra*, *pretavaccaret*. Commenting on this *sūtra*, Kauṇḍinya describes a Pāśupata as having long beards, nail and hair (*rudhaśmaśrunakharomadhāriṇā*) and devoid of all sorts of prevalent canons and customs (*sarvasaṁskāravarjitena*). Kauṇḍinya's explanation seems to have been represented in a typical long-bearded Bāul singer who acknowledges no social ties nor follows any conventions or customs. They speak of themselves : "Think of us as dead as far as society in concerned. Society has no claim on a dead person".[29] Hence the Bāuls try to avoid society and like to live a secluded life a feature which reminds us of the Pāśupatas who have been described as *Śūnyāgāraguhāvāsī* (*śūnya* meaning *nirjana* or lonely; *śūnyam viviktaṁ nirjanamityartha*, explains Kauṇḍinya) in one of the *Pāśupata-sūtras*.

Like those of the Pāśupatas, the manners and customs of the Bāuls, judged by the modern taste, are obnoxious. Mention may be made here of the hearsay of the late Akṣayakumar Datta recorded in his *Bhāratvarṣīya Upāsak Sampradāy*. According to that hearsay, the Bāuls were believed to have indulged in cannibalism and put on the left-over garments of the corpse. The hearsay, though not entirely true, might have some basis.[29a] It is probable that the Bāuls, at least a section of them, lived in or near the *śmaśāna* (cremation ground) during the times of Akṣayakumar Datta and used to put on the left-over garments of the dead bodies. If it is true, then the Bāuls should be believed to have borne affinites to the Pāśupatas in being *śmaśānavāsī*, a peculiar trait of the Pāśupata sect. Furthermore, is there any befitting place other than *śmaśāna* for reminding people of the futility of the social canons or customs and men-made distinctions which the Bāuls do trample?

Again, the Pāśupatas with a view to overcome the sense of hate used to do many condemnable things. Eating of remnants of what others have eaten is an illustration on the point (*kṛtānnamutsṛṣṭamupādadīta*). The case of the practice of *cāri-candra-bheda* (piercing of the four moons) which implies the taking of semen, blood, urine and stool, of the Bāuls may be cited here. The Bāuls say that he who has crossed the rubicon of taking these things in the interior of his body, thereby overcoming the sense of obnoxiousness and hate, is regarded fit for the real and final sexo-yogic *sādhanā* by which the union with the Supreme Being or Supreme Beloved (described by them *maner mānuṣ*) is effected. The dirty habits of the Pāśupatas (e.g. besmearing the body with ashes and dust, lying on ashes etc.) also are in conformity with the dirty nature of the Bāuls. Further, like the Pāśupatas who lived on alms and charity (*bhaikṣyaṁ*), the Bāuls too earn their livelihood generally by means of begging.

The singing and dancing habit of the Bāuls reminds us of another trait or the characteristic of a Pāśupata devotee (*hasitagītanṛtta* etc.). Always smilingly speaking to themselves in the form of mutter, the Bāuls attach little importance to worldly pains and displeasures, sorrows and sufferings. They appear to pass their moments in an everlasting state of ecstasy. A noted Bāul named Narahari announces in his song:[30]

> Now no men-made distinctions have any hold on me,—
> And I revel only in the gladness of my own welling love.
> In love there's no separation, but commingling always,
> So *I rejoice in song and dance* with each and all. (Italics mine)

Song and dance are the mediums of expressions of the thought-life of the Bāuls. This characteristic of the Bāul order echoes the important *vidhi* of the Pāśupatas, viz., *hasitagītanṛtta* etc. In this connection mention may be made of the habit of the singing and dancing of the Nāth creed, another mediæval religious system.[31] The Ājīvikas are also said to have rejoiced in singing and dancing considering them as mediums of expression of their religious life.

The Pāśupata practices of *krāthana*, *spandana*, *sṛṅgāraṇa*, *avitadbhāṣaṇa* etc. also bear some affinities to the practices of the Bāuls. The Bāul *sādhanā*, as has been said before, is essentially a sexo-yogic one. It has got various stages.[32] In one of its state (called *sammohan* or *mohon*) the Bāul *sādhaka* becomes forgetful of his physical existence and feels a current of unbound ecstasy in him. This is known, in their words, the state of *jente marā* (death-in-life). This state is somewhat similar to the state of *krāthana* (affecting to be asleep when one is awake) of the Pāśupata *sādhaka*. After the stage of *jente marā* the Bāuls begin to perform the difficult part of their *sādhanā* which consists in the "raising of the *retodhārā* (seminal current) to the higher centres", i.e. upwards. They say that during this psycho-physiological stage their limbs begin to shake and emit *sveda* and many other physical changes begin to occur. The *spandana* of the Pāśupatas characteristically may belong to this stage. *Śṛṅgāraṇa* of the Pāśupatas may have an echo in the *prakṛti-sādhanā* of the Bāuls. In passing, we can recall here the instance of Maskari Gosāla, one of the three Ājīvika stalwarts, who improperly solicited the potter woman Hālāhalā. The later *Sahaja sādhanā* in the company of a woman, known as *Prakṛti sādhanā*, may be traced to this event. The *Pāśupata-sūtra sṛṅgāraṇa* is perhaps its codified literary expression.[33] The manners and customs followed and the actions done by the Bāuls, in general, may easily be described as *avitatkaraṇa* of the Pāśupatas. What they say have no meaning to the people in general who tread in the beaten track of the society. As the Pāśupatas are described as talking nonsense (*avitad-bhāṣaṇa*), so the Bāuls are called by the common people as insane, speakers of nonsensical and absurd things.

The Bāuls are generally condemned and looked down upon for their sexo-yogic practices by the common people bound by the so-called social ties. But the Bāul themselves say that they are often misunderstood. They say that their *sādhanā* aims at the highest state of spiritual realisation, the union with the Supreme Beloved (*maner mānuṣ* or *sahaj mānuṣ*) who resides in the temple of the body. Indulgence in sexual pleasure, therefore, is a thing which they fear most. They assert that *kāma* (carnal desire) and *prema* (divine love), *sarpa* (serpent) and its *maṇi* (jewel), *garala* (poison) and *amṛta* (nectar) lie combined in their *sādhanā* and it is through a difficult *sādhanamārga* that they separate *kāma* from *prema*, *garala* from *amṛta*, *sarpa* from its *maṇi*. Like them the Pāśupatas too declare that their *sādhanā* aims at being *jitendriya*.

The *sādhanā* of the Pāśupatas and the Bāuls are established on the practice of *Prāṇāyāma* (*prāṇāyāmaṁ kṛtvā*; *Pāśupata-sūtra*), a sort of breathing exercise leading to the control of mind through the control of the vital wind. In other words, both the systems—the Pāśupata and the Bāul—are essentially based on yogic *sādhanā*. The *Pāśupata-sūtras* of course do not explicitly state as to how this *prāṇāyāma* exercise can be learnt.

But in the Vātulanātha-*sūtras*, which belong to the Śaiva religion, we may get some hints on this point. The gloss on one of its *sūtras* states that *Sāhasa* inspiration[34] (appearing to be somewhat similar to the highest state of the Bāul *sādhanā*) can be achieved "through the instructions from the mouth of the teachers" (*guruvaktragamyam*). We may assume therefore that the Pāśupata devotee also used to learn the practice of *prāṇāyāma* from his *guru*. In other words, the Pāśupatas seem to have had *gurus* for their yogic *sādhanā*. It is natural, for, *guruvāda* is not a new thing in the Indian religious thought. It is here, again, we find the affinities between the Pāśupatas and the Bāuls. Many of the Bāul songs dilate on the indispensibility of the *gurus*[35]

Reticence is characteristic to the Bāuls. They do not speak of themselves, nor do they try to publicize their songs and sayings. Once asked by Ācārya Kshitimohan Sen, a Bāul answered the reason for their usual reticence: "Son, this is not literature. It is born of our soul, our most intimate inner life. These sayings are not to be tasted for their literary savour. They are for *sādhanā*. They may have the literary value but that is not the object of their composition. This is why we do not disclose them".[36] In other words, the Bāuls carry on with their esoteric *sādhanā* very secretly and perhaps due to this fact that they live a segregated life and do not like to have connections with the society. Strikingly enough, the Pāśupatas, too, described their vow as *guḍhavrata* (secret vow). The general nature of both the *Sādhanapaddhatis*, therefore, are similar.

7

Thus we find a lot of affinities between the Pāśupatas and the Bāuls. Now the *Pāśupata-sūtras*, a few of which are mentioned before, appear to have embodied some such *śāstra* of the Pāśupatas, to which Utpala alludes to in his commentary on the *Bṛhat Saṁhitā* under the name of the *Vātulatantra*. Utpala is believed to have flourished in the 10th century A.D. A few centuries later, we come across the *sūtras* of one having the interesting name Vātulanātha belonging to the Śaiva order. So it is natural to assume that Śaivism, particularly the Pāśupata-Śaivism had a distinct contribution towards the growth of the syncretic religious order like the Bāul cult, a fact overlooked by scholars on this sect.[37] The word Vātula of the *Vātulatantra* or Vātulanātha-*sūtrāṇi* from which the term Bāul seems to have been derived, seems to confirm the above contention.

References

1. *The Religion of Man*, Chapter VII, p. 110 ff.

2. Foreword to *Hārāmaṇi*, collection of folksongs made by Md. Mansuruddin.

3. The conception of the human body as the temple of God and its consequent sanctity are shared by almost all the religious systems of mediaeval Bengal, rather of India. The Northern and Upper Indian saints of the Middle ages like Kabīr, Nānak, Ravidās, Dādu, Rajjab, or the Vaiṣṇava Sahajiyās, Sahajīs Darveśas etc., for instance, attach much value to the human body. Human body, according to the Bāuls, is the microcosm of the universe. Truth resides within and is to be realised within.

4. Not only Bāuls, but many mediaeval religious systems of Bengal, like the Vaiṣṇava Sahajiyās, Kartābhajās, Darveśas etc. believed in such theory and took recourse to *prakṛti-sādhanā*. Akiñcan Das has referred to a number of famous Gauḍīya Vaiṣṇava Gosvāmīs who used to indulge in *prakṛti-sādhanā* (vide Dines Chandra Sen's *Baṅga Sāhitya Paricay*, 2nd part, p. 1650). Mention has been made in the *Caitanya-caritāmṛta* of Kṛṣṇadāsa Kavirāja (*madhya-khaṇḍa*, Chapter 15) that even Śrī Caitanya took recourse to such *sādhanā*; his *sādhana-saṅginī* was Ṣāṭhī, the daughter of Sārvabhauma Bhattāchāryya of Purī, Orissa.

5. The main esoteric sexo-yogic practice, on which is founded the *sādhanā* of the Bāuls, is known as the '*cāri-candra-bheda*' (piercing of the four moons). The four moons imply semen, blood (menstrual blood), urine and stool. The Bāul *sādhaka* has to take these four things in the interior of the body. The test is evidently a severe one and he who overcomes this test is regarded fit for the real and final yogic *sādhanā*. For details of the Bāul *sādhanā* see *Bāṅglār Bāul O Bāul Gān*, p. 369 ff.

It is to be noted that besides the Bāuls, there is a number of religious systems (e.g. Vījamārgī, Apāpapanthī, Palṭudāsī, Satnāmī etc.) in different parts of India who indulge in practices in the line of *Cāri-candra-bheda*. Some of them indulge in more awesome and obnoxious practices. Of course, such practices are now gradually becoming extinct. For an account of these various religious systems see Aksaya Kumar Datta's *Bhāratavarṣīya Upāsak Sampradāy*.

6. Like the Sahajiyas the Sufīs and the mediaeval saints of Upper India, the Bāuls lay strong emphasis on *guru-vāda* (complete reliance on the spiritual guide). A section of Bāul songs, dilating upon the indispensability of the *Murśid* or *guru* is known as 'Murśidā' or 'Murśidyā' songs. *Guru-vāda* is in fact ingrained in the religious thought of India and so also in many other ancient religious systems of the world.

7. Ācārya Ksitimohan Sen's articles on the Bāuls have been published in the pages of the *Viśvabhāratī Quarterly*. (Vide. *VQ*., 1929, & 1952-1953). One of his articles (*VQ* 1929) has been included in Rabindranath's *The Religion of Man*, p. 209 ff. His book on the Bāuls is entitled as *Bāuls of Bengal*. Recently Dr. Upendranath Bhattacharya has published his magnum opus, *Bāglār Bāul O Bāul Gān* where he has made a very comprehensive and commendable discussion about the order of the Bāuls in all its aspects.

8. *VQ*., 18, p. 126.

9. *Ibid*, p. 129.

10. *Ibid*, 1929, p. 416. Space forbids the analysis of the similarities between the Bāul sayings and the passages of the ancient Indian texts. Ācārya Sen has successfully shown that the germs of the Bāul philosophy are ingrained in ancient Indian texts like the *Atharva-Veda*, Upaniṣads, the epics etc.

11. Regarding the date of the origin of the Bāul cult, scholars are not unanimous. Md. Mans-ur-uddin holds that the order of the Bāuls originated in the last part of the 14th or the early part of the 15th century (*Harāmaṇi*, p. 5). Dr. Upendranath Bhattacharyya advocates a much late date and says that the order in question originated and took a definite shape in the middle of the 17th cen-century (*Bāṅglār Bāul O Bāul Gān*, p. 131). Ācārya Ksitimohan Sen, on the other hand, places the origin of the Bāuls much earlier. He remarks : "I find their teachings and their name in existence long before his (i. e. Caitanya's time)...The saint Chaitanya and his followers described themselves as Bauls". (*VQ*, 19, p. 60) In another place he says : "We find Bāuls in existence from the very inception of the Bengali language. In 1898 I traced the Bāuls back twelve or thirteen generations" (*Ibid*, p. 68).

The earliest literary reference to the word 'Bāul' is found in Mālādhara Basu's *Śrī Kṛṣṇa Vijaya* which is to be assigned to the 15th century. Mention of the 'Bāul' is also made in Kṛṣṇadāsa Kavirāja's *Caitanya Caritāmṛa*, an early biogrgraphy of Caitanya belonging to the 16th century. It is to be noted, that many Bāuls revere Caitanya as *ādi Bāul* (first Bāul), a fact which Aksaya Kumar Datta referred to in his *Bhāratavarṣīya Upāsak Sampradāy*, p.173. Though the exact import of the word 'Bāul' mentioned in the *Ṣrī Kṛṣṇa Vijaya* or *Caitanya-caritāmṛta* is not known, it may be presumed that roughly towards the end of the 15th century the order of the Bāuls originated and got a definite shape.

12. The Bāuls decry the Vedic teachings and philosophy. In many songs we find their anti-Vedic feelings (though be the word 'Veda' they do not always mean the Vedic texts, but the ritualism, customs and conventions sanctioned or by the Vedas) e.g.,

'Abyssmal darkness is set by the Vedic clouds
The Sun rises not'.
or 'Does the Veda comprehend *Sāīn's* (Supreme Beloved's) *līlā* (manifestation)
As he manifests Himself in this body-world'?
or 'A man free of Veda-ism lives above macrocosm.'

Not only in the Bāul songs, but in many Tantra texts too, the Vedas have been condemned. Cf. *Kulārṇava-tantra* (XI.85). It is to be noted that none of the religious systems which led to the rise of the Bāul cult, had any high opinion about the Vedas and hence it was not un-natural for the Bāul order to decry the teachings of the Vedas.

13. For an estimation of the roles played by different religious systems in the growth of the Bāul cult, see Dr. S. B. Dasgupta's *Some Obscure Religious Cults* and Dr. U. N. Bhattacharyya's *Bāṅglār Bāul O Bāul Gān*.

14. Pāṇini's *sutra Śivādibhyo'ṇ* (IV. 1, 112) hints at to the worshippers of Śiva. Patañjali refers to Śiva more than once but his reference to the Śiva-bhāgavatas (V. 2. 76) is interesting inasmuch as it is the earliest mention of a Śaiva sect. The Maskari-Parivrājakas referred to by Pāṇini (VI.1, 154) and his commentator Patañjali have been identified by scholars with the Ājīvikas (*Comprehensive History of India*, Vol. II, p. 399). Dr. J. N. Banerjea says that what Lakulīśa really did was to systematise an already existent order. (*Ibid.*, p. 398).

15. *Ibid* p. 398.
16. *Ibid*. p. 399.
17. See *infra*, p. 348.
18. *Sāṁkhyaṁ Yogaḥ Pāñcarātraṁ Vedāḥ Pāśupataṁstathā,*
Jñānānyetāni Rājarṣe viddhi nānāmatāni vai.
(*Śāntiparvan*, ch. 349)

18*a*. Translated and edited by E. B. Cowell and A. E. Gough, p. 103 ff.

19. *Kāpālaṁ Pāñcarātrāṁ ca yāmalaṁ vāmamārhataṁ.*
Evaṁ vidhāni cānyāni mohnārthāni tāni tu.
(*Kurma Purāṇa*, 12. p. 137)

or,
Pāṣaṇḍino vikramasthāna vāmācārāṁstatathaiva ca
Pāñcarātrān Pāśupatān vāṅmātreṇāpi nārcayet.
(Ibid, 16. Asiatic Society Edition, p. 555).

20. *Sarva-Darśana-Saṁgraha*, p. 108.
21. *Bṛhat Saṁhitā*, Edited By S. Dwivedi.
Viṣṇorbhāgavatān magāṁśca savituḥ Śambhoḥ sabhasmadvijān., Ch. 59, V. 19

In course of commenting on this verse Utpala in one place says: *Ye narā yaṁ devamupāśritāḥ śaraṇyaṁ bhaktibhāvenaprāptāstairnaraistasya devasya sva-vidhinā ātmīyadarsanoktenavidhānena.....Vātulatantroktenānyatantroktavidhinā vā Śambhoḥ.*

This may be translated thus: "The installation of different divinities who are worshipped by different groups of people with *bhakti* should be done according to their respective tenets... thus the images of Śiva should be installed according to the rites mentioned in the Vātulatantra". *Development of Hindu Iconography*, p. 230 fn.

22. *Development of Hindu Iconography*, p. 230 fn.
23. *Vātulanātha-Sutrāṇi*, Introduction, p. 2.
24. *Ibid*, p. 1, fn.
25. *Ibid*. p. 16.

26. *Ibid.* p. 16-17.
27. *VQ*. 1929. p. 410.
28. "The word *bāul* with its Hindi variant *bāur* may be variously derived; it may be derived from the Sanskrit word *Vātula* (affected by wind-disease, i.e. mad, crazy), or from *Vyākula* (impatiently eager); both these derivations are consistent with the modern sense of the word, which denotes inspired people with an ecstatic eagerness for a spiritual life where one can realise ones union with the eternal Beloved—the 'Man of the heart'. With the Bengali word *bāul* we may also compare the Sūfī word *Diwānā* which means mad, i.e. free from all social responsibilities." *Some Obscure Religious Cults*, p. 183-4. But the origin of the word Bāul from Vātula seems to be probable and natural. And that Dr. J. N. Banerjea also holds this view was communicated to me by my friend Sri B. N. Mukherji.

In the words of Ācārya Sen : "Bāul means madcap, from *bāyu* (Skt. *vāyu*) in its sense of nerve-current and has become the apellation of a set of people who do not conform to established social usage." *VQ*. 1929, p. 410; also *The Religion of Man, p.* 209ff.

29. *VQ*. 18, p. 125.
29*a*. With the passage of time, the Bāuls have naturally changed many of their habits and customs and so one should not wonder if he does not find the practices of the Bāuls as referred to by Aksaya Kumar Datta.

Sri S. K. Saraswati informs me that about the second decade of this century there was at Ārāni (Dt. Rājshāhī, North Bengal) a Pāśupata *Sādhu* named Kiṣto kṣepā who was in the habit of taking flesh of the dead body. This is perhaps another point of affinity between the Pāśupatas and the Bāuls. Cf. Aksaya Kumar Dutta's hearsay about the Bāuls.

30. *VQ*. 1929, p. 410.

In another Bāul song we hear the echo of the same note. When the orthodox Muslims condemned Madan, the composer of the song in question, for his habit of singing, he replied:

> 'Though you forbid me, friend, I cannot obey.
> My worship is in my song. That is why
> A flower worship in its array of colour
> Or in its fragrance breathing through the dark
> Worship is in every string of the *vīṇā*.
> My worship is in my voice, I sing it.'
> Quoted in *VQ*. 18. p. 276.

31. Dr. B. M. Barua in his unpublished dissertation *Religious History of Bengal other than Hindu* has shown some points of similarity between the Ājivikas and the Nāthas, one of which is the similarity in singing and dancing habit of both the sects. Vide *Obscure Religious Cults*, p. 229-30.

Passingly it can be said that the Bāuls have some similarities in religious practices with those of the followers of the Nātha creed. Has Vātulanātha got any connection with the Nātha *sampradāy* ?

32. For details, see *Bāṅglār Bāul O Bāul Gān*, p. 369 ff.
33. In the Jain *Bhagavatī sutra* it is stated that Maskari Gosāla indulged in some shameless words and actions, like holding a mango in his hand, drinking, dancing sprinkling himself with the cool muddy water, improperly soliciting Hālāhalā in whose residenc at Śrāvastī he was living for sometime before his death. According to Dr. J. N. Banerjea, these apparently insane and indecent acts of Gosāla remind us of several Pāśupata-*vidhis* like *hasita-nṛttagīta sṛṅgāraṇa, kṛtāthaṇa*, Do they not in the same way remind us of the habits and *sādhanapaddhatis* of the Bāuls?
34. *Vātulanātha-sutras*, p. 1.
35. eg. in the song of Lālan we hear: What else wealth is in this world except *Murśid* (i.e. spiritual preceptor)?
36. *VQ*. 19, p. 73.
37. The tenets and practices of the Bāul cult as stated above, are akin to those of the Pāśupata-Śaivas. "Śaivism in Bengal was of the Pāśupata sect" (*History of Bengal*, Vol. I, edited by Dr. R. C. Majumdar, p. 405) and under the circumstances the contribution of Pāśupata-Śaivism towards the growth of the Bāul cult in Bengal appears to be certain.

ERRATA

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Plate I The two images, illustrated as figures 1 and 2, were acquired from Siam and not from Indonesia.

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